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A CHAPTER OF SANTAL FOLKLORE

BY

P. O. BODDING

A discussion of the different questions of folkloristic and ethnological nature which would naturally present themselves in connection with the tales and stories here edited and translated will find its proper place when my collections have been published in their entirety. Here, therefore, only a few introductory remarks.

The present writer received, whilst still a child, his first introduction to folk-tales through an old nurse; the interest thus awakened has followed him ever since, and he took it with him out to India now nearly thirty-four years ago. I had not been among the Santals many months, before I heard of and also commenced to collect folk-tales of theirs. The first one to tell me any such was a young man who had heard some tales from his mother and grandmother. When I came to Mohulpahari, my present home in India, I got some more tales from an elderly Santal *guru*, named PHAGU from the village of Dhaka, near Mohulpahari, the same man who has furnished the songs printed in the book 'The Traditions and Institutions of the Santals' (in Santali, taken down by the late Mr. SKREFSRUD from the dictation of Kolean *guru*, 2nd edition, Benagaria, 1916, edited by the present writer), and who also dictated to me a much more circumstantial version of the traditions than that found in the book mentioned.

It did not, however, take long before I understood that it would require more time than I had at my disposal to take down the stories, the more so as I soon found out that here were materials for a large collection, and I naturally wanted to collect as much as possible. There was another consideration which weighed much with me: I tried to be accurate, but there was always the possibility that the tales might be more or less tainted by passing through a European brain, both as to language and as to contents. It would be very much preferable to get the tales written down by a Santal.

It so happened about a year after my arrival at Mohulpahari that I had a man, SAGRAM MURMU by name, sent to me to be a helper in my work in connection with the Santali language. I soon discovered that this man had a natural ability of writing his own language. He was consequently asked to write down all stories he knew, and whenever I heard of a fresh story, the person in question was asked to tell it to him, and he wrote it down.

It was a private arrangement between us. He used his leisure hours to write, and was paid per page by me. It led to his hunting up people of whom he heard that they might have stories to tell. His writing had also another result. When people heard that there

was a market for such, some persons who could do so wrote down stories they knew and brought them. One who did this was the young man first mentioned above, who in the meantime had been appointed postmaster at Mohulpahari. Another one was his wife.

In the course of time the collection has grown to quite a small library. How many folk-tales there may be in my collection, I have not counted. It is large.

The majority of the tales have been written by the above mentioned Sagram Murmu, who hails from a village in the Godda Subdivision of the Santal Pârganas district, Bihar. When no remark is made, it is to be understood that he is the writer. Tales put on paper by others have a note to show who has written them.

Sagram Murmu came to Mohulpahari in the early part of 1892, and has remained there ever since, his special work having been to be one of my 'living dictionaries'. He has passed what in our parts of India is called the Lower Primary examination in Hindi — it amounts to very little. What he else knows, he has picked up himself. This is just mentioned to show that he has not been long enough in school to get his language 'educated'. He is a Santal from the village, the genuine article, well acquainted with the customs, ideas, and superstitions of his own people, now old, well up in the sixties, looking just the picture of a folk-tale teller. He has a tendency towards 'preaching' and moralizing, and may be somewhat headstrong. This does not, however, affect his tales, except that he now and then furnishes them with a 'tail' giving vent to his own opinions.

The tales are, as will be understood, written in genuine Santali, without any attempt at polishing, only obvious errors or slips of the pen having been corrected. Before the missionaries came, the Santals had no written language. What they had of 'literature' was all stowed away in their memory. Incantations, songs and certain other matters are in a stereotype form, often such as not to be always properly understood by the present generation. This is not the case with the folk-tales, where, within certain limits, there is full freedom for the narrator. The language of these may consequently vary as to individual form and expression. There is no literary style. Santali has not like some other Indian languages, as e. g. Bengali, a high or literary form, a colloquial and a vulgar form. The language of these tales is just as the people speak.

The translation is literal, as far as compatible with good sense, one reason for such literality being that the idiom of a language often throws light on the mentality of the people. The object of editing these tales and stories is not to tell interesting tales, but to give those who study folklore genuine and reliable material.

The translation has been supplied with a number of explanatory notes, where it seemed necessary or desirable. In several cases the Santali word or a commonly used word from another Indian language has been used, to avoid long explanations or paraphrases. Such have been explained in the notes. A number of notes giving ethnological information has also been added, in the hope that they will help the reader to appreciate certain details.

The Santali text will furnish excellent material for the study of the Santali language, which is of considerable interest in several respects.

— There are a few things more to be mentioned.

These tales are the property of the Santals. Many of them are undoubtedly autochthonous, some may be the common property of the Santals and other neighbouring races, and it may at the present time be impossible to decide whose property they originally were. A number may have been acquired from other peoples who live among the Santals, often in the same villages, from people whom they daily meet.

I do not at the moment remember any stories borrowed from Mohammedan sources; if there are such, they are very few. The Santals seem to look upon the Mohammedans as people quite different from themselves, and with distrust. The above mentioned Kolean *guru* says in one place in the printed traditions: "More than all other races we resent and abhor the *turuk*." Now *turuk* in Santali really means the Mussulman cavalry, of which the Santals had experience in former days. Here the word is used in such a way that it seems to include people of that persuasion also.

Those from whom they have adopted stories are Hindus of all sorts, generally low caste. With these they have much in common. From literary sources I do not think any Santal tales have been borrowed, the only exceptions being *Aesop's fables*, acquired through schoolbooks, and not by any means common property. I might just mention that I have, among the tales, a Santali version of the Ramayana, very likely the result of Santals seeing a puppet show, and listening to the stories told by the showman.

It is generally not difficult to tell at once whether it is an originally borrowed tale or not. However this may be, the stories are all in Santali garb, and adapted to Santal customs and Santal ideas, just as when a foreign word is adopted by the language; it has to be adapted to and made conform with the demands of the phonetic laws of the language.

It should be noted that the tales always move in a Santal world, and are exponents of the Santal mode of living, speaking and thinking. Many of the tales are good pictures of life, such as is met with in the Santal villages and homes. In this way they furnish true material for learning to know the people.

To the Santals the stories represent several things. They may be intended to amuse, to explain, e.g. natural phenomena or strange matters, to teach, to point a moral, to give an explanation or perhaps an excuse for doing or omitting to do something, &c.

According to their contents, they are told or recited on different occasions. An old mother, a grandmother, an aunt or other elderly person may tell stories they know to the children, just like we ourselves in our childhood heard stories from our old nurses.

I have, however, an impression that most of these stories are more the property of men than of women.

When Santals sit together without having anything special to do, somebody may start telling a story, or somebody may ask for such a one. Some one of the party may ask about something. This reminds another of an incident of a story, which is mentioned, and a third asks whether they have not heard this. After some talking, one man will commence to tell. I have happened to be present on such occasions. Likely most of them, if not all, have heard the tale, or know it. As the narrator proceeds, he is again and again interrupted by acclamations of approval, grunts of satisfaction and enjoyment, and the like. Then the narrator may not be quite sure as to some details, and somebody offers the correct rendering, or there may come corrections from one or more of the party, who believe themselves to know certain particulars better. They are all of them in it. It is very amusing to be present and listen.

If a Santal is asked when these tales are told, he will nearly always say it is when they watch on the threshing floor. When the rains are over and the Santals commence reaping their paddy, the sheaves are carried to the threshing floor, a small bit of levelled ground, beaten hard and plastered with cow-dung, on a higher level than the rice fields, but generally not far away from them, to obviate too much trouble in carrying the sheaves. During the harvest time people often live more on the threshing floor than in their homes. In a corner a booth is always erected, a few slender poles put up against each other, the whole covered with straw, having a tiny opening at the floor. Here people live for days and weeks. Thieves lurk about at this time, and it is necessary to watch the stacks of sheaves on the threshing floor, and also so far as possible the adjoining unreaped paddy-fields. Generally several families have their threshing floors in one place, close to each other. So they watch together, and to keep awake and pass the long hours of night, they have to resort to different devices; one of these is to tell folk-tales. They enjoy them, and see them enacted, so to say, before their mental vision.

✓ Folk-tales belong to a special period of cultural development; they presuppose and demand a certain state of mentality, when the critical powers are not as yet sufficiently developed to prevent certain flights of imagination or the enjoyment of obvious impossibilities. Like so many other peoples, the Santals are passing from the stage where folk-tales can exist. I may not be right, but I am under the impression that many of the folk-tales collected by myself are getting out of use and being lost. I do not think it would be possible at the present day to trace all those that have been secured for my collection. The vast majority of them was collected during my first twenty years in India. By that time, the Santal supply had been more or less drained. Still it happens, even now, that a new story is heard; but it is very seldom.

p. t. Löken, Heradsbygd, Norway, 17th July 1928.

P. O. Boddington

As to the pronunciation of the letters used in writing Santali, the following may be noted: The system followed is very much the same as that recommended by the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY for transliteration of Indian languages, with a few exceptions and some additions, made necessary by Santali having some sounds peculiar to itself.

The vowels, when without diacritical marks, are pronounced very much as in Norwegian: a (mbw) like *a* in *father*, — e (mfn or mfw) like *e* in Norw. *se* or Engl. *men*, — i (lfn or lfw) like *i* in Norw. *mine* or Engl. *bit*, — o (mbnr or mbwr) like *o* in Norw. *stor* or *sort*, — u (hbnr or hbwr or hmnr) like *ou* in French *tour*, or *u* in Engl. *put* and Norw. *hus*.

Vowels with a dash below are the open vowel sounds, as against the unmarked close sound: ə (lfn or lfw) like the sound in Engl. *air, fat*, — ɔ (lbnr or lbwr or lmn) like the sound in Engl. *law, not*, or Norw. *monne*. In suffixes, postpositions and personal pronouns, the open ə and ɔ sounds are not marked.

Vowels with a dot below are peculiar Santali sounds, tentatively called resultant. Only two are used here, ɑ and ɒ: ɑ is, to an untrained ear, something between Engl. *but* and *hat*, — ɒ is a modified mbnr sound.

All vowels may be long or short.

All vowels may be nasalized; this is shown by the circumflex ^ above the vowel; cf. the French pronunciation of e.g. *dans, ancien, bon*.

With reference to the consonants, it should be noted that all stops are either unaspirated or fully aspirated (this shown by *h*, written after the stop consonant).

With this reservation, the velars are pronounced as in English.

g is always like *g* in Engl. *garb, get*, not like *g* in *gentle*, — ñ is the velar nasal, like *ng* in Engl. *song*, — k is the checked consonant *k* without its offglide.

The palatals may be compared to the corresponding Italian sounds.

c and j are palatals, not compound sounds, in so far differing from Engl. *ch* and soft *g*.

ñ is the palatal nasal, pronounced something like Spanish *ñ*.

y is never a vowel as in Scandinavian languages, but always the open medio-palatal fricative sound, something like *j* in e.g. Danish *ja*, or *veje*.

č is the checked consonant *c* without its offglide.

The cacuminals are all pronounced with inverted tongue-tip; they are written like the corresponding dentals, with a dot below:

ʈ is like *rt* in Norw. dial. *bort*, — ɖ is like *rd* in Norw. dial. *gjorde*, — ɳ is like *rdn* in Norw. dial. *tordne*, — ʂ is like the socalled thick *l* in Norw. dial. *sol, ola, jord*.

The dentals are pure dentals, not supradentals; pronounced very much like the corresponding letters in Italian.

ʈ is the checked consonant *t* without its offglide.

The stopped labials are pronounced very much like the corresponding Engl. sounds, excepting that, as remarked above, the unaspirated letters are unaspirated.

The open labials are like the corresponding English sounds *v* and *w*.

ɸ is the checked consonant *p* without its offglide.

The sibilant is always pure dental voiceless, like *s* in Engl. *sink*.

The checked consonants, of which Santali has four, are written as the corresponding full consonant with an apostrophe.

For a full description of the Santali sounds and pronunciation the reader is referred to the writer's book 'Materials for a Santali Grammar I. Mostly phonetic.' Dumka 1922.

BONGA TULUÇ BAPLA AKAN HQR REAN KAHNIKO

1. Kađa gupi kođa rean

Sedae jođhen, kathae, miđtań kođa kađae gupi kan tahēkana, ado din hilođge ađi nindā aneć kađae aderkoa.

Ado kathae, miđ din do ayup siđgar jođheć orakte kađae laga ađuyetko tahēkana. Ado en hilođge miđ hōrko husitkedea; uni do kuři bođgao tahēkana. Ado uni bođga doko idikedete dobatiare hesak dare tahēkana; onđege kiriaketede binidako emadete ona hesak dareregeko khil jalađkadea. Ado en hilođ ayup siđgarje uni kođa do, kathae, ona dobatiā hesak dare sentegeye ađuyetko tahēkana. Ado uni kuři do ona hesak dare jalađtregeye teđgo akane nēlkadea. Khange uni kođa do bujhaukeťa, nui kuři do oka khon coe ađ hećakan, ar baňkhane usatokana; onka monreye hudiskeťa. Ado sen sorkate bae kulikeda, Henda pera, okaren kanam?

Ado uni kuřiye mēnkeťa, Ađi saňgiňren kanań, pera.

Ado uni kođae mēnkeťa ać monre, Jähären kangeye, eñgateń bađha idikaea; noa dare buđare do cedake tahēna? Ale orakteń idikaea, eñde tahē aŋgakate adoe jähä senođge. Onka monre bujhau barakate uni kuřiye metadea, Henda pera, ađ hećakana sem ceta? Ar baňkhan dela iňiň bađha idikama.

Ado uni kuřiye mēnkeťa, Hë, pera, entem bađha idiń khan doń senkođa.

Henda pera, entem oka atoren kana? Ma thikte lajańme; ina doko kuliń khan, iń hō inageń laja, ar baňkhan ađri do okareniń laja?

¹ Bonga is the Santali name for a spirit or a godling, considered evil or anyhow dangerous by the Santals. Besides the bongas regularly worshipped, a large number is supposed to live in the hills, in rivers, trees, pits, &c., both male and female. The Santals believe that bongas, more frequently female ones, may be married to or have sexual intercourse with human beings.

² The pipal tree is *Ficus religiosa*, L. The common Bengali or Hindi name is used here. Even among the Santals it is considered as something special, it being held to be of use also in the world to come. This is likely due to foreign influence; they do not otherwise consider the tree sacred. The witches are reported to travel through the air on these trees, just as their European sisters ride on broomsticks.

³ It is very common with young girls to sulk, 'furte' as it is called in Norwegian. It is an ordinary thing with young wives, who run away from their husbands.

⁴ Friend is a term used by Santals when addressing strangers, specially when meeting such on the way and deeming them Santals.

STORIES OF SANTALS MARRIED TO PEOPLE OF THE NETHERWORLD

1. THE YOUNG MAN AND THE BONGA¹ GIRL.

ONCE upon a time long ago, it is told, a young man was occupied herding buffaloes. It was his habit to bring the buffaloes home only when it was late night.

So it came to pass that he one day at nightfall was driving the buffaloes home. Now that same day the people had exorcized a certain man there, and the spirit they had expelled was a female bonga. They had taken this bonga to a junction of two ways where a pipol² tree was standing; here they had adjured her, given her a gift of dismissal, and then fastened her to that pipol tree. As told, it happened at nightfall that very day that this young man was driving his cattle towards this pipol tree standing at the crossway. He caught sight of the girl standing up against the pipol tree. The young man said to himself: this girl has lost her way and has come here from somewhere, or otherwise she is in the dumps³. So he reasoned in his mind. What was then more natural for him than to go up to her and ask her: "Well, friend⁴, wherfrom are you?"

The girl answered: "I am from very far away, friend."

The young man then said to himself: "She may be from anywhere; dash it⁵, I shall take her along. Why should she remain here under this tree? I shall take her to our house, then she may stay there until dawn and so go wherever she likes." So he was thinking in his mind and spoke to the girl: "Look here, friend, have you lost yourself coming here, or how? Otherwise come along, I shall take you with me."

"Yes, friend," the girl said, "if you take me along I shall go."

"Look here, friend, from which village are you then? Tell me that correctly. When they ask me about this, I shall tell them what you say. Else how should I tell wherfrom you are, at random?"

⁵ The Santals do not swear in our sense of the word. They have, however, a number of expletives, more or less extensively used. They are not considered high language, and many object to their use. Others are so inured to them that they, if they do not have them, feel their language 'tailless', as they express themselves. All these expletives generally refer to the human anatomy. The word here employed has been so often used so as to have lost all meaning. I have not heard a Santal being able to explain what it really is. Originally it may have meant something like 'by the female principle', 'by the mother'.

Ado kathae, mītañ atoe laiketa, bañmañ phalna atoren kana. Ado uni korae mënkefa. Acha bogege; ado jähä leka nañamko heçlen khan dole laiakoa, ale then menaea mënte. Endekhan cedak noñde dom tahena? Dela ale oraktegen idikama; aŋgalen khan ado jähä sengem calak, ontäge calakme.

Ado uni kūriye mënkefa, Hë, entem idin khan doñ calaka, ar bañkhan neñdegeñ tahë aŋgaka.

Ado uni korae mënkefa, Dela ęnte, khusitem calak khan doñ idimea, ar jormotkate do ohon idilema.

Ado uni kūriye mënkefa, Acha, khusitegen calaka; mënkhana ín metam kana, noa ti jañgare janumteñ rampha akana, ona chadaokańme.

Adoe chadaokadea. Ado kathae, tin habić unkinkin galmarao kan' tahëkan, un habić kađa doko teño thir akan tahëkangea. Ado uniye chadaokede khan, ado kađakin lagaketko. Ado laga idikeko khan divheko jeret odokketfa kađa tölko lagit. Ado unreko kulikedea, Henda ya, nui do ɔkœyem ağukede? Ar uni kuři do racaregeye teñoakana, ar uni korä do gorateye bołoyente kađae tolketko. Ado odokkate arhöko kulyede kana, Henda ya, ɔkœyem ağukede, bahu se ɔkœ?

Adoe metałko, Mītañ pera hör kanae, hante khon ín bađha aqauakadea.

Adoko bujhäuketa, nui do bähugeye ägu akadea. Ado piñdare mäciko belketteko hohqadea, Dela mäi, noñde piñdare hijukme. Ado piñdareye rakaþente mäcireye durupena. Ado uni kuřiko kulyede kana, Henda mäi, am dom okaren kana?

Ado uni kūriye mënkefa, Hana phalna atoren kanań.

Ado okatem calaka?

Ado uni kūriye mënkefa, Ín do usat ín heçakana, jähätege mët lutur ontëñ calaka; ado kađa ağuko jokhen horreye nañkidiñteye metadiña, Dela ale orakteñ idimea.

Ado arhö uni korako kulikedea, Henda ya, ma laime, bahu kanae se bañ?

Ado uni korae mënkefa, Bahu doë bañ kana; ado nitok kađa ağuko jokhen ona dobañia hesak dare thene japań akan tahëkana. Adoń nelkede khan ín kulikedea, Henda peram okaren kana? Afakana sem usat hör kana? Cedak am eskar noñdem tahena? Hör hopon kangeam? Delań idi toramea; ale orakre gitic aŋgakme, ado setaklen khan, jähä sengem calak. Onka mënkteñ ägu dara akadea.

Ado ęneko thir barayena; kedok dakako isińkeťeko jom baraketa, uni kuři hökko emadegea. Ado parkomkoko ader baraketa, ar uni kuři do patiakko beladea; ado ęneko gitic aŋgayena.

⁶ Branches of trees with strong thorns are commonly used for fencing or blocking the way. A bonga may, it seems, acc. to their ideas, be shut up with the help of thorns. The thorn-trees most commonly found and used are the *Zizyphus Jujuba*, LAM., and the *Zizyphus oxyphylla*, EDGEW.

The exorcizing here above referred to is a very complicated and expensive affair. The bonga is not supposed to be seen, but to have taken possession of a man, who acts on behalf of the bonga. It is ordinarily only the *kisăr* bonga, a hobgoblin, very much resembling the Norwegian 'nisse', which is exorcized. What is here thought of, is not quite clear. It seems as if the bonga is supposed to have taken visible shape.

⁷ A mat is often used in lieu of a bedstead. To lie on a mat spread on the ground may imply sexual abstinence.

So she named a village, saying: "I am from such and such a village." The young man then said: "Well, that is all right; if now by any chance people should come searching for you, we shall tell them she is here. Why should you remain here? Come, I shall take you along to our house. Then to-morrow morning, if you want to go anywhere, go there."

"Yes," the girl answered, "if you take me along, I shall go, otherwise I shall remain here until dawn."

"Well then," the young man said, "if you come of your own free will, I shall take you with me. Against your will I should never take you away."

The girl then said: "Well, I shall come with pleasure; but I tell you my hands and feet are blocked up with thorns⁶; release me from those."

So he set her free. Now all the time they were talking together the buffaloes had been standing quiet. When he had set her free, they drove the buffaloes along; when they reached the house, the people lighted a lamp and brought that out to see to tie up the buffaloes. Then they asked him: "Look here, boy, who is this whom you have brought with you?" The girl was standing in the courtyard, whilst the young man went into the cattle-shed and tied the buffaloes up. When he came out again, they asked him once more: "Look here, laddie, whom have you brought? Is it a wife or what is it?"

"It is a friend," he answered, "I have brought her along from over there where I found her."

They consequently thought that he had brought the girl to be his wife. Thereupon they placed a stool on the veranda and called out to her: "Please, my girl, come here to the veranda." She then went up to the veranda and sat down on the stool, whereupon they commenced to question her: "Look here, my girl, which place do you belong to?"

"I am from such and such a distant village," the girl answered.

"And where are you going to?"

The girl then said: "I am in the dumps and have come to go in whatever direction my eyes and ears will take me. So when he was taking the buffaloes along, he found me on the way and said to me: Come along, I shall take you to our house."

Hereupon they once more asked the young man: "Look here, you boy, tell whether she is your wife or not."

"No," the young man answered, "she is not my wife. When I was driving the buffaloes along, she was leaning up against the pipal tree at the crossway. When I saw her, I asked her: Well, friend, wherefrom are you? Have you lost your way or are you in the dumps? Why do you remain here alone by yourself? Are you a Santal? Come, I shall take you with me; stay in our house for the night, then, as soon as it is morning, you may go wherever you like. Having said this I brought her with me."

After this nothing more was said. The evening meal was prepared, and they had supper, they also gave the girl to eat. Thereupon they took the bedsteads in and spread a mat⁷ for the girl, and so they passed the night.

Ado dosar hilok setak khange uni kuri do gurić khaçläke sap gotkette gurić här gorateye bolo gotena; ado ona giđi cabakate racakoe jokkefa, dakkoe lo agukefa. Adoko menefa, Ayo, nui kuri do heć caltege behaje kampi kan! Cet leka coñ katha menaktakin. Ar uni hoko bengefae kana, khub mönjgeye nelok kana. Ado uni koçaren eñgat apatkin cepetena, Ma nui kuri do abongebon döhoyea, babon sen ocoaea. Ado sari ini koja nütumtege bahu mënteko döhökeda. Ado dosar hilok ayup khon do mit parkomre giticco hukumatkina. Ado en hilok khon do mitrekin giticena, ado sit beohar lekakin kämiketa, mit monenakin.

Ado uni kuriye menefa, uni korae metae kana, Ia nit do alań dolań haram budhiyena; mit din lagit do bań, jug jug bhuńjau lagitge janic ayo babateko döhö jurikaflań. Ado mit katha kiriakateń metam kana, bhalam döhöetiń se bań? Judim döhöetiń khan, am then in tahena, ar bañkhan am then do ohon tahelen. Heo tolkate do odokok hö ađi moskila. Onate nitregeń metam kana, judim döhöetiń khan in roja ar bañkhan bań.

Ado metadea, Ma ente röflem cet katha kana.

Ado uni kuriye mënkefa, Katha do noa kana: jähän karonte gharońjre eñga apa, se boko boeha, se haram budhi, jötgebon jhogräkgea, alań hö hapen jähän karontelań jhogräkgea, kam kaj daete coñ cet daete coñ, ape herel hopon oka do hanđi nū bulkate ađipe rukhetgea, dal höpe dadalgea; ado onate nitre am in läiam kantalań, jähänaklań kapharięu jokhénem daleń, sem kuhäuiń, sem humägiń, onako do jötogeń sahaogetama, mënkhán nią jañgateak do ohon sahaoletama; inatet in manakam kana; lekbeť, se thäkyä, se kokolsa jañgate do alom thäyä lebędziń. Ar judi manakate hö bam anjomtiń ar bam batao khan, enđekhan oka hilokem thäyäiń, en hilokgeń odok calaka. Ma nią katha disa döhökam, ar bam döhöetiń khan, ma nitrege chutiańme. Ma inage ror do.

Ado uni korae mënkefa, Acha, onań disa döhökaka; jähä hilok jañgate do bań lebëtmea.

Ado sari uni kuri arhöe mënkefa, Ente in do eñgań apuń hö ađi sañgińre menakko, ar am do ale orań hö bam nelakań; alań do eken horregelań napamakana, enđe khongem aqauakadiń.

Ado unre uni korae mënkefa, Ado ente mit dha gan hö najharte do bam idiń, bam udukań?

⁸ The Santals have a number of baskets, named according to size and shape, and also, as here, according to use. The one here mentioned has the common bowl-shape, like practically all Santal baskets made from bamboo. All cow- and buffalo-dung is collected. It is sometimes used for manuring purposes. Over large tracts in India dried cow-dung is used as and is the only fuel.

It must not be supposed that the proceeding here described is the ordinary Santal marriage which, when carried out according to the proper rites and ceremonials, is a very circumstantial affair. It sometimes happens that a young man will take a girl in without ceremony; more often a girl, standing in an illicit relation to a young man, will 'forcibly' enter a house to protect herself or to bring about a regular marriage. Such a girl will, on entering, touch the household utensils and act as one belonging to the house. The result will always be a 'palaver', with settling of accounts, and finally a dismissal or a regular marriage. The girl here acts something like a 'run-in' wife, as they call them, although some of the essentials are not mentioned.

¹⁰ A veiled expression for having children. The Santals carry their children riding on the left hip.

¹¹ The expressions used refer to the different ways in which a man who has no shoes may use his foot for kicking. Santali has different words for every way.

The following morning the girl took a cow-dung basket⁸ and went straight into the cattle-shed to collect the dung; having finished this and thrown the dung out, she swept the courtyard and went and fetched water. "Oh mother," they said, "this girl, she has just come, and she works like a wonder. Who knows what kind of an understanding there is between these two." Of course, they were also looking at the girl, she was very beautiful in appearance. So the young man's parents consulted together and agreed: "Let us keep this girl, we must not let her go away." And in very truth they kept the girl to be the wife of this same young man, and from the next night they ordered them to lie on the same bed. From that time they slept together and became of one mind⁹.

The girl then said, that is, she spoke to the young man: "I say, now we two have become husband and wife; not for a day or two, but to live together for all time, father and mother have likely joined us together. Now there is one matter about which I speak to you most solemnly: will you do as I say or not? If you do as I say, I shall remain with you; otherwise I will never agree to remain. When one becomes tied by having to carry on the hip¹⁰, it is also most difficult to leave. Therefore I speak out to you now; if you will do as I say, I shall speak, otherwise not."

"Well then," he said, "let me first hear what it is."

Then the girl said: "It is this I am referring to: for some reason or other father and mother, brothers and sisters, or husband and wife, that is all of us in a family will some time have a quarrel. We two will also some day, for some reason or other, start quarrelling, may be on account of the house work, or on account of some other matter. You men sometimes get drunk, and then scold something awful; you men also go so far as to beat. Therefore I already now tell you between our two selves: if at any time we have a quarrel, you may strike me, or use your fist on me, or beat me, all such things I shall put up with from you; but anything with the foot I am not standing from you. This I forbid you: trampling, or kicking with the sole of the foot, or kicking with the toes¹¹, you must not in any way trample on me or kick me with your foot. If you, after I have warned you, will not listen to what I have said or heed it, then the day you kick me, that day I shall leave. Please retain this in your memory; if you will not listen to me, give me free now. This is what I had to say."

"All right," the young man said, "I shall remember this; I shall never at any time kick you with my foot."

Then the girl again said: "You see, my parents are living very far away, and you have not been to our house either; we two have only just met one another on the road; from there you have brought me."

The young man answered: "Will you not then take me, if only for once, to the house of my parents-in-law? will you not let me see that?"

Ado unre uni kuriye ménketa, Ín dō oñđe khon kahískateń odokakana, oñđe dō oñđe senlena.
Ado ináktege uni kuli ruare reak dōe hirińketa. Khange adókin thir barangena.

Ado aghär tioken khan ko baha sáohäkeńkina. Ado bochor din khangekin gidrawana.
Ado uni kuriye rophayen khan, kathae, bębaříčko kisárena, joto jinisge ađi hoeyentakoa.
Ado onakate arhő miňtan kin gidrawana, ado jotoko tuluć ađi sulukgeko tahéyena.

Ado dher dine tahéyen khan, kathae, uni kořa dō mone monete ye ménketa, Bhala mit din dō eře eřete micha michi kapħariāu ín ēħoba, adóń thaya għodea, bhalae odok calaka seye tahēna.

Ado kathae, mit din dō hanđiye nū aqwa kawana, ado micha michi jhogħrae əhopkeťt eye thaya goħkeda. Ado uni bahu kuři dō ađi bariče rakket, ménketae, Durre! am dō ađi bębuj ḥor kanam; nökdeyem thaya goħkidiña, adom mokonadiña, ín dō onategem thayakidiña. Sei dinreń metaħmea, jaṅgate dō alom joħediña, ménkhan iňa katha bam doħoleta, nökdeyem joħekidińgea. Herel hopon ađi eřepe galmaraoa. Ma ado in dingi am then doń tahēn kana. Ín doń odok calač kana, ar nukin idrā hō banar doń idi torakina.

Ado uni kořa dō cet hō bae roř dareak kana. Ado kathae, idrāi heokekina; adoko odok goħena. Ado uni kořa doe bħabnayenteye or ruaretkoa, ado bako ruar kana; joto hoṛteko ruaretkore hō, bako ruar kana. Adoko ménketa, Acha, thora sañgiń sen nök oħoco, adobon ruar aqukoa. Katha bae aňjomet khanbo cekaea?

Ado uni kuriye ménketa, Aperen hopon herelge bae doħolel khan doń cekaea? Ín ma tahēn horġe, ado nui apattetgħejre bidawadiń khan ín cekaea?

Ado barġe horteye odok goħena; tala barġe kathaeye senlen khange dugur dugur jotoko jol goħena, aċ hō ar unkin idrā hō.

Khange onako īelket khan, joto ḥor ađi baričko botorena, arko ménketa, Durre! Cele kuriġibon bahuledea? Cekate boge bae jomlebbon?

Ado uni kořa dō mone monete ađi bariče bħabnayena, ménketae, Cedak coń thayakede? Onategħejre odok calaoena, ar baňkhan hutec ħoħe odoklena; inġeň baričketa; onategħ pħilire besgħejre metadiń tahékana, ado onkan ḥor oħoń hamleko. Ado uniye odoken khač, kathae, arħoġko rēnġeċ ruarena.

Cabayena uni kořa reak katha do.

¹² *Aghdr* is the month from the middle of November to the middle of December, often used for performing certain ceremonies.

¹³ See above, p. 50, note 9. A regular public ceremony is gone through.

¹⁴ The Santals live in villages, but their houses are always lying separated from each other, each homestead standing close to the village street, at the end of a field, in which maize and cold weather crops are cultivated.

¹⁵ The expression does not imply that the persons were consumed by fire. The Santals have a superstition that, in certain circumstances, bongas will emit a more or less strong light. A light seen and not recognized or understood will frequently be thought to be due to supernatural causes.

"I have come out from there, vexed in my mind," the girl said, "and am quite unwilling to go there."

Having talked so much, he forgot to question her more, and so they let the matter rest.

When the month of aghār¹² came, they legalized their irregular marriage¹³, and when a year had passed, they got a child. When the girl had settled down, content with her circumstances, they became awfully rich; all kinds of goods they got. Then they again had a child, and they were living happily in great peace with everybody.

After she had been living there for a long time, it came to pass that the man one day said to himself: "Well, I wonder, one day I shall find some pretext, and for fun start a quarrel and then give her a kick, I wonder whether she will leave or stay."

So one day he came home after having drunk rice-beer, he commenced, on some pretext, to quarrel and suddenly kicked her. The wife commenced to cry bitterly. "Woe, woe," she said, "you are a man without any sense; see there, you kicked me and did for me. It was therefore you kicked me. That day I told you: Don't touch me with your foot. But you have not listened to what I said; look, now you have touched me. You men are great liars. Well now then, so long I have stayed with you; I am leaving now, and these two children also I take both along with me."

The man could not say a word, and the girl took the two children on her hips, and they went out. Now the man became sorry and tried to draw them back again; but they would not return, and even when all in the house tried to persuade them to come back, they would not. So they said: "Well, let them go and get some distance off; then we shall bring them back again. If she does not listen to what we say, what can we do?"

The girl then said: "Since your son did not listen, what can I do? I am of those who remain. When the father of this child has sent me away, what can I do?"

Hereupon she went out and took the way over the fields¹⁴. When she reached the middle of the field in which the house was standing, they all blazed up¹⁵, both she and her two children. When the others saw this, all of them became very frightened. "Oh, oh," they cried out, "what kind of a girl is it that we made our daughter-in-law? How is it, and how fortunate that she did not eat us."

But the young man grieved very much in his mind and said to himself: "How could I kick her? That was the cause of her leaving; otherwise she would certainly not have left. It was my fault. Why, she also told me beforehand. And now I shall certainly not get anyone like her."

When she left them, these people, it is told, again became quite poor.

The story of the young man is ended.

2. Bajjal kora reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miſtañ atore Bajjal nūtuman miſtañ korae tahēkana, ar uni kora dō tirio oron ar bañnam dō khube baðae kan tahēkana. Ado kathae, ona aňjomte miſtañ hoňga kuřiye bulauente mit din dō eskare tahēkan jokhen uni kuři dō Hor kuři chinte uni lahareye sōdorente sakame hēheč kan. Ado uni kora hō uni kuři sengeye calao idiyena. Ado kathae, uni kuřige oteye rōr mařan gošketa, Henda pēra, okaren kanam?

Khange uniye mēnketa, Niákoren kangeań; ar am dom okaren kana?

Uni hōe mēnketa, In hōń niákoren kangea.

Ado uni korae mēnketa, Ohon nēl orometmea.

Ado uni kuři hōe mēnketa, Am hō coň bań nēl orometme.

Ado enka enkatege khildukin ehpóketa, adokin şarinakketa, botor bhaňgaoentakina. Ado dingekin nāpama. Ado mit din dōe metadea, Dela ale ořakteń idimea, ina dō ale ořak hōm nēl aňukatalea. Adoe idikeda.

Ado calak calakte miſtañ darharekin bolok kana, ado kathae, thiřrakte dakre bolok lekae aikauleta. Ado tinre cočin paromkette dāhar dāhartekin calak kan. Ado ořakkin tiokkef khan, apat baret uni kuřiko kulikedea, Nui dō okoeyem aňukadea?

Ado uni kora dō bogeteye botorok kana. Ado uni kuřiye metadea, Am dō alom botoroka, ohon ceka ocomea. Ado durup lagif mäciko beladea, ado onareye durupena. Ar uni kuři dōe laiaſko, Nui dō jāwae iń aňukadea.

Ar kathae, biń doko gaňdo kantakoa, ar kul tarup doko seta kantakoa, ar taben dō meral sakam kantakoa, ar piňha dō gōetha. Ar notere korařen eňgat apat doko mēneta, Aleren kora dō okate coe aňgenen. Onkako mēneta.

Ado kathae, pē pon mähä onđeko dōhökeda. Ado mit din dō baretteko marak sendrako riňukadea; metadeako, Delabon jāwae, marak sendra.

Ado uni kora hōe mēnketa, Acha delabon.

Adoko metadea, Ma uni seta tiagetabonme.

Adoe mēnketa, Ma ape bare tiagepe, iń dō nahäk birren tiagetabona.

Ado şariko calaoena, bir birteko sendra idiyeta; ado bir mucatre mit hor hurute kuňtam kana. Ado uni korako metadea, Hani hande, jāwae, marake atiń kana; ma seta tiak idiyeben; pahil dō capat godeben, ado seta lilięeben.

¹ See p. 46, note 1.

² It is a common idea with Santals that, when a man is taken away to the netherworld, the transition is made through water, the person in question being unconscious of what is happening until all is past.

³ The Santals are not alone in believing that the people of the netherworld use snakes for stools and cow-dung for bread. As to the first, it might be noted that what is here called a stool (in Santali, a *gando*) is only a flat piece of wood, generally fashioned just a little underneath, so as to leave a 'leg' or support at each end. It is not necessary to have recourse to something fantastically twisted and coiled to imagine a snake doing service as a *gando*.

⁴ Taben is parched rice pounded hard and flat. Rice made up in this way is very commonly taken along when making provision for a journey.

2. THE STORY OF THE YOUNG MAN BAIJAL

ONCE upon a time, long long ago, it is told, there was in a village a young man named Baijal; and this young man was awfully good at playing the flute and fiddling. By hearing him a bonga¹ girl was enraptured, and one day when the boy was alone, the girl appeared before him in human shape and showed herself engaged in gathering leaves. Then the young man also went towards the girl, and she, they tell, spoke first saying: "I say, friend, where do you come from?"

He answered: "I am from somewhere hereabouts; and you, where do you come from?"

The girl answered: "I am also from somewhere hereabouts," whereupon the young man said: "I am sure I don't recognize you."

Little by little they commenced to flirt and dally with each other, and ultimately they lost all fear. They got into the habit of meeting daily. One day she said to him: "Come along, I shall take you to our house; so you will also see how our home is." And she took him along.

As they were walking along, they came to a water-pool and went into the water. He felt, they tell, as if he entered the water up to the shins. Before he knew where he was, they had passed through and were walking along a road². When they reached the house, the father and brothers of the girl asked her: "Who is this one that you have brought along with you?"

The young man was awfully afraid, but the girl said to him: "Don't be afraid, I shall not let anything happen to you." They placed a stool before him, and he sat down on it. Thereupon the girl told them: "This is a man I have brought to be my husband."

Now it is told that 'those people' use snakes to sit on in stead of logs; tigers and leopards are their dogs³; their taben⁴ are meral⁵ leaves, and their bread dried cow-dung.

Here on 'this side' the young man's parents say to themselves: "Our boy has been spirited away somewhere."

They tell that they kept the young man there for three to four days. Then one day the girl's brothers invited him to come with them to hunt peacocks. "Come along, brother-in-law⁶," they said, "let us go and hunt peafowls".

"Well," said the young man, "let us go."

Then they said to him: "Please lead that dog of ours along with you."

But he said: "Please, you lead him along with you. When we reach the forest, I shall take him along for us."

So they started and went through the forest hunting. Now at the end of the forest a man was occupied cutting tree stumps. "Look, brother-in-law," they said, "see that one over there, the peacock who is feeding. Do take the dog along; be quick and hit him first with something, and so set the dog on."

⁵ Meral is the name of a small tree, *Phyllanthus Emblica*, L., having tiny leaves in shape and size resembling taben.

⁶ It might be noted, that the people of the 'other side' at once recognize the relationship brought about by the action of the girl. No regular marriage is thought necessary or even possible.

Ado barkačteye metako kana, Ukurić ho? Bań ſiel ſame kan do.

Adoko metadea, Uni ho hurufe kučtam kan, uni kangeae marak do.

Ado uni kořae bujhauketa, Judi nahäkle gočkeda měnhan, dhorage hōr jel doko jom ocoňa. Ado uni kořage seta doko tiak ocokeda, arko metadea, Do uni marak goc aguyetabonme.

Ado Šariye calaoena, ado kathae, bae capat pahilledea, ekkaltegeye liliu gotadea. Khange uni hōr dōe ſontor gotente ſengoc dōe muhiuuri gotkefa, ado jemone don gotade, temonge uni dōe kučtam daram gočkeda, ekkalte, kathae, miš taŋgaregeye kučtam londō londō gočkeda; arhge dohralede khangeye ſumār utarkedea.

Khange uni kořa dōe ruar hečente ervelko bahognhartekoe metako kana, Ia ho, marak thenge ſeta dōe tobak goc ocoyna.

Adoko metadea, Bam capat bindar maraňledea?

Ado uni kořae měnketa, Cekań hiřin gotket coň, bań capat maraňledea; měnketań, ſeta hō maraňgeń ſele kana, bań nahäke darekgea janic? Onka měnkate bań capaňledea.

Adoko ruhet barakedea, ado orakteko ruar calaoena Ado orakreko laiketa, ado apattefe měnketa, Alope ruheda, nui lelha hōr dō cedakpe liliu ocoyede kana? Pahil dō bape uduk ceťaea? Onka měnkateye thir ocoketkoa.

Ado ina dosar tesar khange uni kořae měnketa, Delan in dō idi očokańme, in don mokóńena.

Ado unre taben ar piňhako močra ocokeda. Ado bana hōrkin hijuk kana; unreye metae kana, Alom bagia jemón dingelań ſapam.

Ado měnketa, Ohon bagia. Ado ina darhae parom gočkadea.

Ado notere hečkate piňha taben joma mēnte močrae rafakefa, ado kathaeye ſiel gotket dō, gōetha kan ar taben dō meral sakam. Ado jočo onđegeye rara giđi daporkata. Ado orakre ſenkate gate kořakoe lajako kana, noako jočo kathae laiketa.

Měnhan enre hō bakin bagileta, tahęyengeakin; gidrawanakin barea. Ar atore lagrēko enec khan, uni dōe hijukgea, unkin gidra hōe agu darakingea; ado agukate uni kořawak parkomrege unkin gidra dōe gitickakina ar enec calaka; enec mokóńkateko calaoenge.

Ado miš din dō uni kuriye měnketa, Ia, amko bahuam kana, ado pahil porthom kuri gidrako hoelen khan dō, in bare ſumeńme, in dō nonkawańa.

Ado Šari uni kořako bahuadea, enre hō, kathae, kuri hijuk dō bae bagileta. Arhō onkage miš dhaو lagrē enec jočo eṅga hoponko hečlena; ado onkage enec mokóńkate

⁷ Such behaviour is not deemed specially offensive. It is rather common with newly married Santal girls who wish to pay a visit to their parents. It may, of course, also be an expression signifying that one has done with something.

⁸ Lagrē is the name of a Santal dance, the one most commonly used when the rites and rules of ceremonies do not prescribe other dances. The girls form a line, catching hold of each other, and move slowly backwards and forwards and gradually round in a circle. The men, always only a few at a time, keep it going, jumping and beating the drum in front of the women. The women generally sing some song at a lagrē melody. The way

Pretending not to see him, he says to them: "Where? I am not able to catch sight of him."

"He over there," they said, "he who is cutting tree stumps, he is the peacock."

The young man then understood, and said to himself: "If we now kill this man, they will surely make me eat human flesh." However, they made the young man lead the dog along and said to him: "Now kill and bring us that peacock."

So he, truth to tell, went along; but he did not first throw anything at the man, he egged the dog on at once. Thereby the man became watchful, he grasped his axe tightly, and just as the dog jumped at him, he met him with a blow; with one single blow of the axe he struck him insensible, and when he gave him one more, he finished him entirely.

The young man thereupon returned to his brothers-in-law and said to them: "I say, there with the peacock the dog was pecked to death."

"Did you not then," they said, "first throw anything to fell him to the ground?"

"Somehow or other," the man answered, "I forgot that; I did not first throw anything at him. I said to myself that the dog also looked large in my eyes, and that he would likely manage. This was the reason that I did not try to hit him."

So they scolded him and returned home. When they reached there they told their tale, and the father said: "Don't scold him; why do you let this fool egg the dog on? Ought you not first to show him how to act?" Speaking in this way he silenced them.

Two or three days after this had happened, the young man said: "Come along, take me back; I have had enough of it⁷."

They let him make up a bundle of taben and bread, and the young man and the girl both started, and he said to her: "Don't quit, let us meet daily." And she said: "Certainly, I shall not leave off," whereupon she took him past the water-pool.

When he had reached this side, he opened the bundle to eat taben. But when he looked at it, he saw it was cow-dung, and the taben was meral leaves. So he opened it all and threw the stuff away then and there. Having arrived home, he told his chums everything. Still they did not leave each other, the boy and the girl continued to live together and got two children. When they had a dance in the village, the girl would also come and bring the two children along. When she brought these, she was in the habit of laying them on the young man's bed and then, she went to the dance. When the dancing was over, they all departed.

One day the girl said: "I hear they are arranging to have you married. When your first girl is born to you, name her after me, please. This must be done for me."

Now they actually had the young man married; still the bonga girl did not leave off coming. So it happened that all of them, mother and children, once came to dance lagre⁸,

of dancing may be decent, but is often quite the opposite. This dance gives the two sexes an opportunity of meeting and is the occasion of much immorality.

⁸ — Kr. a Etnogr. Mus. Skr. III.

calakko meneṭa, ar uni kora dō bae sēn ocoako kana, or ruarefkoae. Adō bako bataoet khane siñ ęseṭkefkoae, are metako kana, Alope calaka, nōndege tahanpe jōṭo ḥor, mit ḥthengebon tahēna.

Adō uni kuṛi dōe meneṭa, Ale dō qhole tahēlena; nenka ale dole hijuk sēnokgea. Men, ale dō sēn ocoaleme, alom ęseṭ baralea.

Adō bae aراكako kante tinre cōñ, kathae, cal sēn jalač julutko rakaپente kat ḥthen khonko paromena, adō kathae, simā simāto jōtoge bogeteko jol calaoena.

Khange en hilok khon uni kora dōe botorena; adō uni tuluče bagi utarketa. Adō kuṛi gidrāko hoyokre hō, uni nūme reak dō bae mēn baraea. Khange eṭakkoko nūmkefko. Khange uni gidrai goćenge; tin dhaoko hoyok, un dhaoko goć horaka. Adō dak sunum-reko nām aqauadea, adōko kulikeda, adōe hēkketa, adō tin utarko nūmledea, tōbē uniren gidrāko tahēlena. Onē aneṭ Bajjal kora reak katha dō cabayena.

3. Miṭṭān boṅga kora reak katha

Sedac jōkhen, kathae, miṭṭān bir ḫuṅgri dhiri dander ḥthen miṭṭān caṭanire uni boṅga dō dingē ḫubā sunum ar nākić, ərsi aenome ođokkaka, ar oka hilok oka hilok dō sindur hōe ođokkaka. Adō jāhāege birteko calak maejiu dō jōtogecko nēl nāma, ar herel hōponko calaoena mēnkhan, kathae, bako nēl nāma.

Adō onka dingeko nēl khan, adō kuṛiko dō onakote nākijok, aenomokko pōrtonketa, ar sunum hōko əjoga ar ərsite hōko nēloka. Adō onkate dingeko pārkauenā; adō birteko calak khan, pāhil dō oḍegecko sēn pāhiloka.

Adō onkako hewayen khan dō, kathae, mit dhaō dō eken kuṛi kuṛikoge mōrē ḥor birteko riāu calaoena. Adō ona dhiri ḥthenge en hilok hōko sēn pāhilena, adō onkage nindara leka

⁹ See p. 52, note 15.

¹⁰ Any disease which cannot be cured in a 'reasonable' time, and an untimely death, will generally be thought to be due to the influence of inimical powers, bongas or witches. To ascertain what the cause is, the Santals resort to divination. An *ojha*, that is, a medicine-man, is asked to do this for them. He takes two *sal*-leaves with prominent veins, and having rubbed oil here and there on one leaf, he says that such a part of the leaf is for disease, and such a part for witches, for bongas, and so on, then he covers the first leaf with the second one, salutes, and, muttering a *mantar*, puts the leaves on the ground. After a short while he takes them up again, salutes and removes the covering leaf; after having scrutinized the leaf, he announces the result. It is unnecessary to say that the *ojha* arranges the result, and that he does it according to what he understands is the common opinion of those who have engaged him.

To be fully sure, the people concerned will consult a number of *ojhas* and also take other precautions to avoid doing anybody an injustice. Most Santals have at the present day lost their belief in this kind of divination; still it is a matter of nearly daily occurrence.

and when they had done dancing, they wanted to go as usual; but the young man was not willing to let them go; he tried to pull them back, and when they would not listen to him, he shut them up in the house and said to them: "Don't go away; remain here, all of you. We shall live together, all of us."

But the girl answered: "We can certainly not remain here; we shall come and go, as we have done. Take care, let us go; don't attempt to block the way for us."

As he still would not let them go, they suddenly, it is told, blazed up⁹ and rose towards the roof and passed out at the top of the wall. Thereupon they all of them went away in a blaze along the border of the field.

From that day the boy became frightened and left off having anything to do with the girl. When a girl was born to him, he did not say anything of naming the bonga girl either, but named other persons. The child, however, died. So often as a girl was born, so often the child died. Then they consulted the oil-oracle¹⁰ for him and questioned him, whereupon he confessed the truth. First when they had named the bonga girl, his children would live. That is the end of the story of Baijal.

3. THE STORY OF A BONGA MAN

ONCE upon a time long long ago, they tell, there was a bonga who was in the habit of bringing daily a lot of oil and combs, mirrors and eye-paint¹ out and placing all this on a flat rock near a rock-cave in a forest-covered hill; now and then he also brought some sindur² out. Now all women who passed there on their way to the forest, caught sight of these things; but if any man passed that way, he never caught sight of it, people tell.

As the girls saw this every day, they commenced to comb themselves with the combs and to apply the eye-paint; they also rubbed themselves in with the oil and had a look at themselves in the mirror. In this way they, day by day, got into the habit of doing it; when they went to the forest, they always first went to this place.

When they had got into this habit, it is told, it once happened that five of them, only girls, agreed to go to the forest together. Also this time they went first to the rock mentioned, and according to their habit they also that day combed themselves. When they

¹ What is here called eye-paint is a kind of lamp-black, very frequently used by Santal women to blacken their eyelids. The Santals have an idea, that bongas may bring out things to be found by human beings. As an example the following may be mentioned. The writer has among other things been collecting stone-beads, found in the ground, likely in old burial places. When once going to such a place, he was told it was quite useless to go that particular day, because it was only on Thursdays that the bongas brought these things out 'for market.'

² Sindur is the red lead which is so extensively used by (the Hindus and also) the Santals for religious purposes. It is used in connexion with their spirit worship; the essential part of the marriage ceremony — except with a few of their subsepts — is that the bridegroom puts streaks of sindur on the forehead of the bride.

en hiloč hōko nākijoč kana; adō nākič barakateko berešena. Adō mišan kuři dō, kathae, cekakote cōe tayomen, bae nākič hoſlēn, adō onko ponea dōko calao goſena.

Uni dōe tayomen khange bonga kořa dōe ođok goſtente dea sēn khon hape hapete hečkateye härup̄ goſkede. Khange uni kuři dōe botorente bogeteye hōhōketa. Adō onko gate kuři hijuktege, kathae, ona dhiri danderterye härup̄ aderkede; thora lağıf bako jhutjau tiokledea. Adō onko kuři dō ađi baričko bhabnayena, arko mēnefa, Ma boňga kořa, ařak goſkaeme, baňkhan nahāk orakre alege ađi baričko ruhetle. Niň dhaو dō ařakkaeme.

Adō uni boňga korae mēnketa, Do, ape dō ruřt calakpe, nui dō ohoň ařaklea; nui dō iňgeň băhuyea.

Adō khange mišen kuřiko kolkadea arko mēn goſadea, Do, am dō sēnkate nui gate kuřireni eňgat apat lajikome, Aperen kuři dō hana phalna dhiri danderren boňga korac aňgenkedetapea. Onage lajape lağıf iň dōň hečakana. Ar adom hor dō oňdege menakkao; bae ařakede kana, onaté iň dōko kol goſkadiňa, do lajikome mēnte.

Adō kathae, inăktege uni boňga kořa dō dhiri kapaťte ona duar dōe siň ešetketa. Ar uni kuřireni eňgat apat dō kăumău garja barjakin nír hečena ona dhiri dander then; adókin kulikeško, Cef lekate nui dōe aňgenkeda?

Adōko mēnketa, Noňdege nākič, ařsi, aenomle nāmkefa; adō duba sunum ojočkatele nākič barayena; adō nui aperen kuři dō ceka lekate cōe tayomen, adōe härup̄ ader goſkede.

Adō onko gate kuřikoge bogetekin ruhet barakeško; adō ente onko cefko mēna? Thir dorokenako, cef hō bako rorle. Adō eňgattete rakkefa; adōko sereňka rak sereň:

Duba sunumem nojočket na, māi na,
Kundar nākičem nākičen na, māi na,
De māi na, noňdoň hijukme.

Adō kuřiye ror ruąrketa:

Dhiri siňe siňkidiň, nayo,
Dhiri kawaře kawařkidiň, nayo,
Do nayo, ruąrjoňme.

Adō apattete rakketa:

Duba sunumem nojočket na, māi na,
Kundar nākičem nākičen na, māi na,
De māi na, noňdoň hijukme.

Adō uni hō onka lekae ror ruąradea:

Dhiri siňe siňkidiň, baba,
Dhiri kawaře kawařkidiň, baba,
Do baba, ruąrjoňme.

Adō kathaeko ruąr calaoena joto hor.

had done so they rose to go. Somehow or other one of the girls fell behind; she was not quick enough combing herself, and four of them started going.

When this girl fell behind, the bonga man came out at once, and going stealthily up to her from behind, he suddenly threw his arms round her. The girl was frightened and called out loudly; but before her girl companions could come, the bonga had carried the girl in his arms into the rock-cave. They barely missed to catch hold of her hair. The girls became exceedingly sorry and called out: "Please, bonga boy, set her free; otherwise they will scold us awfully at home. Please, set her free this time."

But the bonga man said: "You return home. I will certainly not set the girl free. I shall make the girl my wife."

There was nothing for it, the other girls sent one of their number and instructed her what to do: "You go to the parents of our girl friend and tell them: The bonga man living in such and such a rock-cave has spirited your daughter away. I have come to tell you this. Some people are there on the spot; but he will not set her free; therefore they have sent me to tell you."

In the meantime the bonga man closed the entrance with a stone door. The parents of the girl came running, crying and howling, up to the entrance of the cave, and asked the other girls, how the bonga had spirited their daughter away.

"Here," they answered, "we found combs, mirrors and eye-paint, and after we had rubbed us in with the liquid oil flowing all over, we combed ourselves. Then somehow or other your daughter fell behind, and he threw his arms round her and carried her in."

They scolded her girl companions all round; but what could these say? They kept quiet and did not say a word. Thereupon the mother of the girl cried and sang (here they sing the following lamentation song):

You rubbed yourself in with the oil flowing all over, my girl,
You combed yourself with the comb, my girl,
Please, my girl, come out.

The girl answered:

He shut me up in the rock, mother,
He imprisoned me in a rock prison, mother,
Do, mother, return home.

Then the father cried:

You rubbed yourself in with the oil flowing all over, my girl,
You combed yourself with the comb, my girl,
Please, my girl, come out.

The girl answered him also in the same way:

He shut me up in the rock, father,
He imprisoned me in a rock prison, father,
Do, father, return home.

Thereupon all of them went away home.

Ado inä tayom khange kąkit kakatkin hečena, ado unkin hō onka lekakin rakketa; ado unkin hō onkageye rōr ruaratkina; ado unkin hōkin ruarena. Ado mamot hatomtettikinkin hečena, ado unkin hō onkage. Ado eke ekete joto perako hé cabayena; ado onkageko rakketre hō bae ođoklena.

Ado sesre, kathae, barettet sadomre dečkateye hečena, ado uni hō onkageye rakketa, ar uni hō onkageye rōr ruaradea. Cet lekan sadom cōe tahékantae, ado uni sadome puski gotadea; ado uni sadom dōe acur gotente ona dhiri silpiñe phandalefa sē, kathaeye phanda jhić gošketa, ado arhōe nélket dō bhitrire dhiri kawar menak; ado ona dō bae jhić dareafa. Khange adokin ruar calaoena, ado bogeyena.

Ado kathae, tahen tahentege tinak din badre cōn uni kuriye ménketa, Ia, dher din iñ hoeyena; delaň ayo babateko miš dhaoo ganlaň hiri ağukakoa.

Ado sari uni jāwāetet boňga kora hōe ménketa, Acha, eŋdekhān gapalaň calaka.

Ado sari sandesok lagiskin juřau baraketa, piňha ar tabenkoe sajao ocokedea, adokin calaoena. Ado sečkate besge ăiso baisoko ataň daramkečkina, maci parkomko belatkina ar besgeko beohar baraketa. Ado en hilok doko dōhōketeckina. Ado ona idiač sandes dō kathaeko nélketa, piňha dō gōeňha kan ar taben dō meral sakam kan. Ado uni kurič metae kana, Dela sē māi, note hečlenme. Ado orak sēn hōhō aderkateko udukae kana.

Adoe ménketa, Baňa, ayo, piňha ar tabengeń sajaolefa, ado cekate cōn nonkayen, ona dō qhoň mēn darelea; baňkhan piňha ar tabengeń sajaolefa.

Ado apattet ménketa, Acha cekaeam? Bogeyena. Ma alope rōr baraea, thir daporkokpe, ar baňkhan nahākpe bhirķaukina; ado hikri hō qhōkin hečlena.

Ado sari sanam hōrko thir barayena. Ado uni barettet dō landa sagai iate uni boňga kora tuluć dō khube gateyena ar khube galmarao kana; emanteak phuktikin galmarao kana. Adoko pera barakečkina, khubko marjatkečkina.

Ado dosar hilokko bidakečkina. Ado onakin calak jōkhēnge uni kūriren barettet dōe ménketa, Iñ hō aben sāote atra dhur nél gogot dōn calakgea.

³ It is not uncommon that Santals, when going on a visit to friends, take some kind of gifts with them for those to whom they go, food of some kind and other things, for instance, *sal*-twig-toothbrushes to people living far away from the *sal*-forests.

⁴ The Santals have very little in the way of furniture. They sit on anything serviceable. Generally they have a couple of *gandos* (see p. 54, note 3) and one or two *macis* (i. e. square wooden frames on four low legs, with stringed seats), besides bedsteads. These last ones are rectangular wooden frames on four legs with a string bottom, woven in a peculiar way. When not in actual use, the beds are, generally, raised on one side and placed somewhere out of the way. When visitors come, it is the common custom to place a bedstead for them to sit on. It might be remarked that the 'furniture' here mentioned is all made by the Santals themselves. All do not know to string a *maci*, but a man who could not string a bedstead would be considered a dunce.

⁵ When visitors come, they are not expected to remain, unless invited to do so. When relatives come to pay a visit, they generally manage to come in the afternoon, stay next day and then leave early the following morning. To stay longer, if not specially invited, would not be considered good form. Often, of course, the visit is shorter, as here.

⁶ See p. 42, notes 4 & 5.

Some time afterwards the girl's paternal uncle and aunt came and cried in the same way; but these she also answered in the same manner, and these two also went away. Then her maternal uncle and aunt came and acted in the same way and got the same answer. Then, one after the other, all her relatives came; but although they also cried in the same way, she did not come out.

At last her brother came, riding a horse. He also cried in the same way, and him also she answered in the same manner. What kind of a horse it now was that he had, the horse suddenly gave him a hint. The horse turned quickly round and gave that stone door a kick so strong that he kicked the door open; but alas, he saw that there was inside still a rock fence, and this he was unable to open. So he and his horse returned home, and the matter was left as it was.

The girl consequently remained; then after some time, goodness knows how long a time it was, she said: "Look here, it is a long time since I came; come along, let us go on a visit, for once anyhow, to my parents."

Her husband, the bonga man, also agreed. "Well," he said, "we shall go to-morrow then."

So they prepared some presents of food³ to take along; he told her to pack cakes and taben, and so they went. When they reached the place, her relatives received them well and friendly, placed a stool and a bedstead⁴ before them to sit on and behaved in a fine manner. That day they asked them to remain⁵. When they looked at the gifts of food brought, look and behold, the cakes are cow-dung and the taben mera⁶ leaves. "Please, my girl," they called to their daughter, "come here a moment." And calling her into the house they showed it to her.

"Oh no, mother," she said, "it was cakes and taben that I wrapped up. However this has happened, I am sure I cannot say. Anyhow, I certainly packed cakes and taben."

"All right," the father said, "what can you do? It is all right. Please, don't talk of it; keep quiet, can't you; otherwise you will presently scare them away, and then they will never again come here on a visit."

So they, all of them, did not say anything more. Now the girl's brother, on account of the laughing relationship⁷, made great friends with the bonga man and kept the talk going; they were constantly cracking jokes. They entertained them and feasted them exceedingly well.

The next day they bade them farewell. When they were starting, the girl's brother said: "I will also go half-way along with you to see you off."

⁷ The relationship between certain relatives, specially brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, a man and his elder brother's wife, or his wife's younger sisters, further certain nephews and nieces and their uncle, and grandparents and grandchildren, is called *landa sagal*, laughing relationship, which means that such persons may laugh and jest and be intimate with one another. They are not supposed to stand on their dignity.

Adokin mĕnketa, Bogege eñdekhana. Ado uni kora dō kapiye oyo potomketa, ado unkin tayom tayomteye calak kana. Ado uni kuři doe laha akana, ar ona tayomre boňga kora menaea, ar ona tayomre dō uni hōr kora atra dhure nēl goškakin kana.

Ado barge mucat then mištañ bir tahēkana, ado ona bir thenge uni boňga kora dō, kathae, tayom sen khone mak oco gošena, ekkalte hotoggeye mak topak goškettaea. Ado uni miserate metadea, Dela na, ruarne; jāwae doň goškeda. Ado sari benget acurkateye nēlkede doe mak bindar akade. Khangekin ruarrena. Ado thora saňgiň hec nōkkatekin benget ruarkef dokin nēlket, ăkin tayomte bohoč dō guđrau hijuk kan!

Khange botorte markin dăr — ado ekkalte ako oraktekin nīr hečena; ado onđe habicge bohoč hō guđrau hečena. Khange ona botorte unkin dō oraktekin nīr bołoyena, ado bohoč hō orakte guđrau bołoyena. Ado dačka lagit culhare seňgelko jol akaš tahēkana, adoko jhūkente ona bohoč dō culha seňgelreko hotor khadle goškata; ado lo roňgoyena. Ado onakate ădiko raskayena, mĕnketa, Bhageledeam, ią boňgage, eñgate khubledeam.

Ado inäkate at lō din gange janić hoelena, ado uni kuři bohoč haso ehočkedea; ado ranadere hō bae beslena, ina hasotegeye gočena; adoko mĕnketa, Nui kuři dō jāwætetgeye idikeda, unige bae ařakledea, onategeye gočena, ar baňhan hutec qhoe gočlena. Ado eneko rapakkeda, uniakko kaj koročketa.

Ado cabayena uni kuři reak katha dō, in maraňgea.

4. Mištañ kada gupi kora reak katha

Sedae jugre, kathae, mištañ kora kadae gupi kan tahēkana, ar uni kora dō danguageye tahēkana. Ado mištañ gađa sođok senre thora thiři dač tahēkana. Ado din hilokge mištañ eňga setae nělea, tħik tikiň jokħen khange uni seta dō ona gađa sođok sengeye calaka. Ado uni korae mēna, Bhala nui seta doe okgeren kan bañ? Ar din hilok noa sođok sengeye calak kana; bhala noa sođokre dō cef lagite calaka? Bhala mit din dō tārakkateń nělea.

Ado onka mĕnkate kathae, miš din doe tārākena, ado kathae, en hilok hō tikiň khange uni eňga seta doe hec gotente ona gađa sođok sengeye calaoena. Ado calaoen khan, uni

⁸ The battle-axes (of some five or six different shapes) are now-a-days not very common. They are at the present time used for sacrificial purposes.

⁹ See p. 52, note 14. ¹⁰ See p. 47, note 5.

¹¹ A headache of the kind here mentioned is very commonly believed to be due to supernatural causes. It is not unusual to hear that dead persons call for some living relatives to follow them. The writer remembers the following: An old woman, who was commonly believed to be, and for that matter also acknowledged herself to be, a witch, died. When she was being burnt, she raised one arm and one leg up. This was considered ominous. A short time afterwards two of her grandchildren died. The village people firmly believed that the old women had wanted these children to follow after her.

¹² The funeral rites and ceremonies are circumstantial, numerous and obligatory.

"That is quite well, then," said they. The brother took a battle-axe⁸ and wrapped it up in a cloth and walked behind those two. The girl was walking in front, behind her was the bonga man, and in the rear the young Santal, seeing them off half-way.

At the end of the field in which the house was standing⁹, there was a forest, and there in that forest the bonga man, they tell, was cut from behind; he (i. e. the Santal) slashed his neck through and his head off in one stroke. Thereupon he said to his sister: "Come along, girl, return home. I have killed your husband." When she looked back, she saw him; he had in very truth cut him down. So they went back. When they had come a short distance, they looked back and saw, behold, the head came rolling after them.

O my, they were frightened and started running all they could, and ran straight home; but even there the head came rolling along. Then, still more frightened, they ran inside the house; but the head also came rolling in. Now they had lighted a fire in the fireplace to cook food, and plucking up courage they poked the head into the burning fire, so it was burnt to cinders. So they became very glad: "You gave him his deserts," they said, "that unspeakable bonga; dash it¹⁰, you did him exceedingly well."

After this, it was perhaps eight or nine days afterwards that it happened, then the girl got a headache, and although they applied medicine, she did not recover; she died from that headache¹¹. "The husband," they said, "has taken this girl away; it was he who would not let her off. Therefore she died; otherwise she would certainly not have died." So they cremated her and performed the usual rites and ceremonies on her account¹².

So the story of that girl is ended. It is thus much.

4. THE STORY OF A BOY WHO HERDED BUFFALOES

ONCE upon a time in the old days, it is told, a young man was herding buffaloes. He was not as yet married. Now there was a little water in a river-bed¹. Here he daily saw a bitch; exactly at noon every day this dog was in the habit of going down into this river-bed. "I wonder," the young man was saying to himself, "whom this dog belongs to. She goes every day down into this river-bed. Whatever does she go down there for? Well, some day I shall watch and see."

Intent on this, he one day kept watch, and that day also the bitch came and went straight towards the river-bed. When she reached there, the young man kept his eyes open to see what the dog would do. Having this in his mind, the young man remained quiet.

¹ Buffaloes are always herded not far from water. It seems to be a necessity for them to lie some time in water daily; here the herdsman rubs and washes them.

koṛa dō tan mane ḥeñel kana, bhala nui seta dō cete cekaea. Adō kathae, onka mēnkate uni koṛa dōe thir akana. Adō uni seta dō ona sōdōkre bolokate ona seta hōrmō dōe bočkata; adōe umok kana. Adō un jokhene ḥeñle kana, hor hō hor boṅga hō boṅga, hankae ḥeñlok kana.

Adō kathaeye ḥel hapekadegea; cef hō bae rōr saudeleta. Adōe um baṛa mōkōñen khan dō ona seta hartaregeye boloyena. Adō seta yente orākteye calak kana.

Adō sāñgiñ ḥōke calaoen khan, kathae, uni koṛa dōe bereñente uni setageye pañja idikedea. Adōe mēneta, Bhala nui seta dōe ḥōkeren kana ar oka orākreye bolōka, ḥōke torań ḥel bolō oṭokaea. Adō onka mēnkate sariye pañja idikedeteye ḥel bolō oṭokadea Adō hōre kulikeśkao, Henda hō, bhala nui seta dōe ḥōkeren kan bañ? Behaj jute ḥeñlok kana. Ín hō nonkan setań ḥamleko khan dōh ḥasulkeko.

Adō onko hōrko mēnketa, Nui seta dōe phalnaren kana. Adō ināye suhiket khan uni koṛa dōe ruar hēcena.

Adō kathae, en sermäge uni koṛaren bāhuko ḥam bārayetkao. Adō uni koṛae mēnketa, Ín dō hōr kuṛi dō bañ bāhukoa; ín dō seta kuṛigeń bāhukoa. Khange adō ađi bārićko landawadea. Adō enre hōe mēneta, Ín dō seta kuṛipe bāhuāń khan dōń dōhōkao; ar bań-khan dō bań dōhōkao.

Adō onka jide rōrkef khanko mēnketa, Nui koṛare dō seta jivige menak coṇ cet coṇ, onatege hōr dō bae khusiako kante setageye ḥam kana.

Adō eñgat apatkin mēnketa, Acha, eñdekhān setagebon ḥagukao.

Adō uni koṛae mēnketa, Hana atote calakpe, uni phalna hōrren eñga seta menaea. Uni ḥel ḥaguyepo ar kulikope. Ín do uniregeń khusi akana; ma unigebon ḥaguyeya.

Adō sāriko calaoenteko ḥelkeda, ar uni hōr hōkō kulikeda. Adō uni hōr hō ađi bāriće landakefa, ar goñako reak ađi khulāsateye hēkačkao.

Adō bapla reakkō oramketa. Adō sanam sahi juhi ḥhiken khanko manḍwaketa, adō bāriatōkkō calaoena. Adō uni seta kuṛigeko bapla ḥagukeda. Adō onkage baret lumtiko hēcena; adō um naṛkakateko bidayena.

² A very common expression in Santali, the meaning being that the person in question is exceedingly beautiful, more so than is ordinarily found. It is about equivalent to 'a goddess in human shape'.

³ It might be noted, that the Santali word hōr, besides meaning a human being, also means a Santal. They call themselves so when asked which race they belong to.

⁴ The idea of transmigration is not indigenous among the Santals and not by any means commonly taken up by them; but one may meet among them speculations like what is told here. If something abnormal or monstrous is met with in some person, they may be heard attempting to explain it by supposing that the soul of an animal, having naturally characteristics similar to those observed, has entered the person.

⁵ A marriage is with the Santals a very circumstantial affair. The two most concerned are generally those least consulted. When a man thinks that his boy ought to get a wife, he engages a go-between, who finds out where a suitable party may be, whereupon the two families commence negotiations, the bride-price is fixed, and the engagement is made public. Small gifts are exchanged, both sides feast each other and so on, until a day for the marriage ceremony is fixed. This is regularly performed in the house of the bride. The bridegroom goes there, followed by a number of relatives and friends.

When the bitch had entered that river-bed, she took off her dog's body and had a bath. During this he was looking at her; like a human being and at the same time a spirit²; thus she was in appearance.

He only looked at her quietly, but did not utter a single word. When she had done bathing, she entered her dog's skin, became a dog again and went homeward.

When the dog had gone some distance away, the young man got up and followed after her. He said to himself: "I wonder whose dog this one is, and which house she will enter. I shall at once follow and see her go in." And intent on this he really followed and saw the dog enter a house. He thereupon asked the people there: "I say, I wonder whoever is the owner of this dog. She is looking marvellously beautiful. If I could also get such dogs, I should like to keep them."

"This dog belongs to such and such a person," they replied. Having ascertained this, he returned home.

Now it so happened that the young man's people that very same year were seeking a wife for him, and the young man said: "I shall not marry any human³ girl, I will marry a dog-girl." They laughed at him very much, but he still said: "If you bring me a dog-girl for a wife, I shall take her; and if not, I shall not marry at all."

As he persisted in talking in this way, they thought by themselves: "This boy must certainly have a dog's soul⁴; therefore he does not like human beings and wants a dog."

His parents then said: "Well and good, let us so bring a dog."

The young man then said: "Go to that village over there; such and such a man has a female dog. Go and have a look at her and ask them. I am pleased with her; let us bring her."

So they really went and had a look at the dog, and asked the owner for her. He also laughed uproariously, and when they asked him to give the dog in marriage, he agreed with the greatest pleasure.

Thereupon they made the necessary preliminaries for the ceremony, and when all negotiations were settled⁵, they erected the marriage-shed⁶ and started for the celebration. They performed the ceremony⁷ and brought the girl-dog off. The representatives of her family also came along, and after they had bathed and had washed their hair, they were sent away home⁸.

⁶ At each marriage a *māndwa* is erected in the court-yard of the parents. Some poles are fixed in the ground round a small square; rafters placed horizontally form the roof, on which a number of branches with fresh leaves is placed, giving sufficient shadow. Here the public marriage-ceremonies are mostly performed.

⁷ The binding part of a Santal marriage is the *sindradan*. The bride is lifted up in a wide basket in which she is sitting. The bridegroom rides on the shoulder of a man and being taken close to the bride he five times puts a streak of *sindur*, red lead, on her forehead.

⁸ The text is not quite clear, whether the relatives are dogs or the dog's owner and friends. The narrator has informed me that the bridal party consisted of human beings only, that is, in his opinion.

Ado khange uni seta do uni kora tuluégeko gitiékadea. Ado onkage ñher din dhäbic mitrekin gitiéna. Ado kathae, uni seta do ñindá khange ona seta hórmø khon odokkate bahreteye calaka. Ado kathae, onae cià thikkdedea.

Ado miñ din do ere ere barkaçteye japiñ laha gótketa. Ado uni kuñi do seta hórmø khon odokkate calake mñenf tahékana. Ado kathae, un jokhen geye härup góskedete ona seta harta do culha señgelreye khanjo gótkata, ado joto lo roñgoyena.

Ado khange uni seta doe hórena, ado unreko ñele kan do, hor hó hor boñga hó boñgageye ñeloñ kana. Ado khange sanam hor aqiko khusiyena, ado uni kora aqiko sarhaokeda.

Ado uni koraren bahu ñelte uni koraren gate koñae mñketa, In hó engate setageñ bahucoa. Nui kora setae bahuledete nonkan mñj bahu ñawana, toþe to in hó setageñ bahucoa.

Ado sari uni kora hó seta bahuogeye huñsoketa, ado sari seta bahuogeko siñkeñkote bapla reakko oramketa, adoko mañdwaketa. Ado sunum sasañko ojoge jokhen hó, kathae, bogeteye garjao, ar sindra dan jokhen hó bogeteye garjao. Ado kathae, enre hó enka garjao tuluégeko agukedegea. Ado kathae, noñdo hó onkageye garjao, ado jormotgeko sunum sasañkeñkina. Ado baretkoko bidakeñko khan, bogeteye dár, bañgaye tahan. Ado uni korageko metadea, Ma ya, hani tora bahu dareñtama, do sumarem.

Ado kathae, rukare calaoen khan, bogeteye garjaoet ar sojhe gegegeye chutauk kan. Ado khangeye ikä daporkadea. Ado khange bae ruar dareade khan, bogeteko landawadea; ado uni kora do lajaote cef hó bae rorleta. Ado ina ursiñ barsiñ khange uni kora do lajaoteye phasi góçena.

Cabayena katha do, in marañgea.

5. Gupi kora reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miñtan kora gaiye gupi kan tahékana; ado uni kora do gupi gupitegeye hara juñena.

Ado kathae, aghär cando jokhen bir reak kuriñ rama janum do aqdi barié bele akane ñelketa. Ado gaiko hó aqiko atiñ kan khaé doe mñketa, Noa kuriñ rama janum beleñ jomlege. Ado onka mñkate ona jhõr thene calaoente janum beleye jojom kana.

⁹ See p. 47, note 5.

¹⁰ See above, note 7.

¹¹ When bride and bridegroom arrive at the village of the bridegroom, a number of ceremonies are gone through, thus they are, here also, anointed and have to go from house to house to have their feet washed and to be fed with molasses.

¹² When the official part of a ceremony is over, the guests are solemnly bidden farewell. They may often remain longer, but they are not any more guests for a special ceremony or feast. The formalities are over, and every one is at liberty to go away.

¹³ Santal children are set to work in the household, as soon they can be of use. Boys and girls are sent out to look after the cattle at a very early age. The 'education' they receive in this way is of a low order, and the cattle suffers just as much. It is rather out of the common that a boy continues as a cattleherd after he has grown to maturity; but, of course, it happens.

They let the dog lie on the young man's bedstead, and thus they were lying together for a long time. When it was night and all were asleep, they tell, the dog was in the habit of getting out of that dog's body and going out. The young man spied on her and found this out.

So one night he pretended to have fallen asleep. The girl then came out of her dog's body and was just starting to go out; at that moment the young man suddenly caught her in his arms and threw the dog's skin into the fire in the fire-place, so it was all burnt to ashes.

Now that dog became a human being, and they saw her; a human being and at the same time a spirit, such she was in appearance. Then all of them became very pleased and praised the young man very much.

Seeing the young man's wife, a boy companion of his said to himself: "Dash it⁹, I will also marry a dog. This fellow married a dog and got such a beautiful wife. I shall do the same."

Really and truly this young man importuned his relatives to get a dog-wife, and they really arranged for such a one and settled the preliminaries and erected the marriage-shed. When they came to anointing the dog with oil and turmeric, she howled awfully, and at the time of *sindradan*¹⁰ she did the same. Still in spite of all this howling they brought her along. But also when she came to their house, she howled in the same way, so they had to use force anointing them¹¹ with oil and turmeric. When they bade farewell to her male relatives¹², she started running all she could; she would not remain. "Look, look," they said to him, "see her over there, your wife is running off. Do make an end with her."

When he went to bring her back, she only howled something awful and commenced straight away to bite. So he let her off, the wretch. When he could not bring her back, they laughed mercilessly at him, and he felt such shame, that he did not say a word. And a couple of days afterwards the young man for very shame went and hanged himself.

That is the end of this story. It is thus much.

5. THE STORY OF A COWHERD

ONCE upon a time in the old days, they tell, a young man was herding cows; he had been doing this since he was a boy¹ and had grown to maturity herding cattle.

So it once happened in the month of *aghār*², he saw a kite's talon thorn-bush³ in the forest, full of ripe fruit. As the cows were occupied grazing, he said to himself that he would eat some of the fruit at once, and intent on this he went to the bush and started eating fruit.

² *Aghār* is the month from the middle of November to the middle of December; it is the time when the heavy rice and much else ripens.

³ The name as given is the literal translation of the Santali name for *Zizyphus oxyphylla*, Edgew., a common scandent bush with strong thorns. The fruit is eaten.

Ado kathae, ona jhōṇḍ ṭhenge husit boṅga janumte ramkate dhiriteko tēn akadea, ar se uni koṛa dō bae bađae kana, noa dō husit boṅgako tēn akadea mente. Khange uni boṅgæ mĕnkeṭa, Men ya phalna, mĕn yam lebēt akadińa.

Khange kathae, uni koṛa dō e᷍ṭko sengye koyok barayeta. Ado ađi ḥt̄teye metade khan, kathacye qeōkena. Ado uni koṛae mĕnkeṭa, Okor yań n̄el nāmeṭmea?

Ado kathae, uni boṅgæ mĕnkeṭa, Ma noa dhiri khon uṭkāu odokkańme, adoń bhōrama; ado nahāk jōt̄om n̄el nāmlea ar jōt̄okoak rōrge nahākem bujhautakoa, muć reak rōr hō nahākem aňjōm ṭhika.

Ado uni koṛae mĕnkeṭa, Sari se nasem mĕneṭa? Pasem e᷍reyediń kan?

Ado metadea, Bańa, sārigeń metam kana, qhōń e᷍emea; ma uṭkāukańme.

Ado sāri ona dhiriye ṭhelaō qeōkketa ar rampha janum hō jōt̄e hoṭor qeōkketa. Khange kathae, uni boṅgæ odokena; ado metae kana, Ma bhōr hoſańme, gai bako thirok kantińa.

Ado kathae, luture ḥn̄keda, ar ce᷍ko e᷍n̄ mantar barakate mēṭahā senteye apkedea. Khange kathae, jōt̄ boṅgæ n̄el nāmkeṭko ar rōr hō bujhāu ṭhikkeṭtakoa. Ado unreye metadea, Nēkē iń bhōrańme, aikā ḥk̄e ṭhen hō alom lai baraea, am bahu ṭhen hō alom laia. Ar judim laiketa mĕnkhān, qhōm n̄el nāmleko ar rōr hō qhōm ańjōm dareletakoa. Ma inageń metam kana.

Ado uni koṛa hō gai sene calaoena. Ado sāri je kichu boṅga dō jōt̄ogeye n̄el nāmeṭkoga, ar muć rōr hō, kathacye ańjōm ṭhikkeṭtakogea.

Ado tin din badre e᷍n̄, kathae, miṭān̄ koṛac baiyena, ran ranteko bhagaoena, bangeye besoč kan. Ado cekate e᷍n̄ nui koṛa dō onko orāk sengye calaoen, ado mĕnkeṭa, Bhala uni ruāk koṛań n̄ellege. Ado uni ruāk koṛa ṭhene calaoen khane n̄elkede dō, miṭān̄ boṅga koṛamre durūpkate, kathae, hoṭoke lin akadea. Khange uni koṛa dō hape hapete aćāk kicriče pāk-keṭtaea, ado kathae, uni boṅga dō ona kicriče dale dalkeda se, bogeteye dalkeda. Qñde khone laga n̄irkede khan uni koṛa dōe pharię goṭena.

Ado un khon uni koṛa dō ojhake bahnayena; ado kathae, dańgra jomko ṭhen hō boṅgakoko senlen khan, bogeteye lagakoa. Ado kathae, un khon uni koṛa dō ađiko botoraea.

⁴ See p. 48, note 6.

⁵ What is here rendered 'fellow' is in Santali a particle used in addressing boys and men younger than the speaker. It has a flavour of familiarity and sometimes of contempt.

⁶ All animals are supposed to be able to communicate with each other. In the folk-tales the talk of ants is rather commonly mentioned, just like here. The ants are seen everywhere, their industry, their way of working and their whole life will easily appeal to human intellect and cause wonder.

⁷ Possession by evil spirits is believed in by the Santals. The common idea is not that the spirit enters anybody; the general belief is that the spirit mounts a person, sits there and acts in some way, producing symptoms of disease. The writer remembers once being told about a man, that a spirit jumped upon him when he was returning home from field-work. The spirit was so heavy that the man felt like a weight of two maunds, about 80 kilogr., on his back! He just managed to stumble along until he came to a tree near his home, when the spirit suddenly jumped off his back and up into the tree!

⁸ The Santals have two kinds of medicine-men, some who only give medicine, others who profess to find out the supernatural causes of disease and who, in addition to giving medicine, also do the 'necessary' to propitiate or drive away the evil spirits. These last ones are called *ojha*, a name derived from Sanskrit through Hindi. The boy here is, of course, understood to be an *ojha*, although his behaviour is rather out of the common way of *ojha*-procedure. See also p. 58, note 10.

Now here at this cluster people had blocked up with thorns a bonga, who had been expelled⁴, and had put a stone on top; but the young man was, of course, ignorant of the fact that the stone was pressing down an expelled bonga. "Look out, young fellow," the bonga called out, "look out, young fellow, you so and so, you are trampling on me."

The young man was looking upwards; but when the bonga called out so loudly, he stepped aside and said: "Where are you, you fellow?⁵ I don't see you."

"Please," the bonga said, "get me out and away from this stone; then I shall give you a blessing, and you will presently see us all and understand what all beings say; even the talk of the ants⁶ you will be able to hear and understand."

"Do you speak the truth," the boy said, "or are you lying? Perhaps you are deceiving me?"

"No," he replied, "I tell you the truth, I shall certainly not deceive you. Please get me out."

So the young man really pushed the stone aside and with a stick also threw away the thorns which blocked the bonga up, all of them. The bonga then, they tell, came out. "Now please," the young man said to him, "be quick and give me your blessing; my cows won't be quiet."

Then, it is told, he blew into his ears and, having uttered some incantations, he made as if he washed his face. Thereupon the boy could see all bongas and also understand their talk. "There you see," the bonga said to him, "I have given you the blessing. Only be careful, don't tell this to anybody, don't tell it to your wife either. If you tell it, you will not any more be able to see them, and the ants' talk you will not be able to hear either. I tell you this."

The young man thereupon went towards the cows, and really and truly all the bongas who were there he could now see, and the talk of the ants he could also hear and understand.

Some time afterwards, they tell, a young man was seized with convulsions; they tried all kinds of medicines, but it was of no use; the boy did not in any way get better. Somehow or other the young man one day went towards the house of these people, saying to himself: "I should like to see that sick boy." When he came to the sick young man, he saw, look and behold, a bonga was sitting on his chest and throttling him⁷. The young man then quietly twisted his cloth into a rope and started beating the bonga with the cloth; he gave him a sound thrashing, and when he had driven the bonga away from there, the boy at once recovered.

From that time the young man was called a medicine-man⁸. Also when the bongas came to a place where they were eating oxen⁹ he drove them all away, and from that time they were very much afraid of the young man.

⁹ The Santals do not like, often do not dare, to mention certain things or persons by their proper names. Here 'oxen' is used metaphorically for 'human beings'. It is a common belief with them that the bongas 'eat' people. How this 'eating' is done they are unable to explain. They agree that such 'eating' is the cause of many deaths. But while some suppose that the bongas eat the liver and lungs (as the witches are believed to do), and others are of opinion that the bongas want the blood and nothing else (giving as proof that at sacrifices people eat the flesh of most sacrificed animals, the bongas getting the blood only), many take the expression to be equivalent to destroying or to causing death. Some consequently think that the 'eating' is done before death, others take

Ado kathae, uni koçako båhuadea, ado uni båhu hőe tahę rophayena.

Khange kathae, miš din dō tikit jokhęn uni koča dō duar then dakae jojom kan tahękana ; unre őndęge muć dō daka jom lagitko jarwayena. Unre kathae, barea muć dō dakakin repeć kana arkin kapharię kana. Ado uni koča dō arhő dakae curucaťko, ado kathae, unkin dō bębaričkin jhograk kana. Ado unkin ańjomte uni koča dō daka jom hőe thirena, ar muluć muluć landayęt kana. Ar bęhuttęt dō tan mane ręnel kana; ado bae jivileta, heć sorkateye kulikedea, Cedač bam jomeťa ar cęf onkam landayęt? Enan khon in ńeletmea, cęf coň muluć mulućem landayęt kan. Ado masej lajańme, cęfem landakętā.

Ado uni kočae ménketa, Okor bań cęf? Cęf hő bań landa akata.

Ado ądiye jidketa, menketae, Mage lajańme, ar bańkhan iń dō bań tahęna am then dō. Am dō őkoe kuriko tuluć coň menama; ona disatęm landayęt kana.

Ado uni kočae ménketa, Ona dō bań kana, eťagak iń doń landa akata.

Ado uniye ménketa, Ma ęnte lajime, tōbe khan iń bataoa, ar bańkhan őhoń bataolea.

Ado sari bae bataolet khane ląiketa, bańma, Dakań hirićleťa, ado ona then mućko jarwälénä; ado nonka onka bogeteko kapharię kana; ona ańjomte iń doń landa akata.

Ado uni bęhuttęt ménketa, Cekate onkoak rōf dom ańjomketa? Ale dō okorle ańjomketa?

Ado unre uniye ménketa, Bań, őhoń lailema. Miš hōre mén akawadińa, őkoe then hő alom lai bęraea, am bęhu then hő alo, ar bańkhan őhom ańjomketa. Uni hōr onkae mén akawadińa, onateń metam kana, őhoń lailema mente.

Ado bęhuttęt ménketa, Ma lajime, őho cekaka, ar iń hő őhoń lai bęraea. Iń thenge bam lai khan, őkoe thenem laja? Bam lajań khan, tōbe amren hōr doń bań kana.

Ado onka ądi lekao kiriakede khane lai daporadea. Ado kathae, ęn hiloč khon dō bonga hő bae ńel ńamkoa ar muć reak rōf hő bae ańjomketa.

Ado ęne cabeyena katha dō.

6. Mištań bonga ar Hōr koča reak katha

Sedae jokhęn, kathae, mištań koča gaiye gupi kan tahękana. Ado tahęn tahęnte, kathae, Aghär cando jokhęn bir sęn gaiye idi akačko tahękana. Ado gai ącure sęnlenre mištań

It more literally, and think that they kill to feed on the dead body. What is here told is that, according to their belief, bongas may gather round a person dangerously ill to 'feed' on him, i. e. to cause his death. The 'hero' of the tale has received the gift of seeing the bongas, and makes use of his powers to chase the bongas away and consequently restore the patient to health.

¹⁰ Se p. 66, note 5. As a result of the way in which marriages are arranged with the Santals, it is always somewhat problematical whether the young people will hit it off or not with one another. When they do, it is often spoken of as here. It is always the girl who is supposed to have settled down and found her place in her new surroundings. Those who do not will generally run away.

¹¹ A common suspicion here used as a weapon.

⁶ This story is, as will be seen, a variant of the preceding one. It is the same story told by some other people. It may be of interest to see, how it is varied. The story has many more details than the first one, all details giving a more coloured picture of Santal life and ideas. In the first story it was an expelled bonga which was set free. Here it is, strangely enough, the spirit of a dead man. The present-day Santals burn their dead ones, a custom which they tell they have adopted from the Hindus. They are, however, in certain cases buried, some for good, others only temporary. All children who have not been made full members of Santal society by

So they got a wife for the young man, and the girl also was content and stayed¹⁰. Now it happened one day at noon that the young man was sitting near the door, taking his food. Some ants came together there to eat rice, and two of them were trying to take rice from each other, and were bandying words; the young man then again gave them a little rice, and the two ants were quarrelling awfully. Listening to them the young man stopped eating and was smiling and laughing. His wife was staring at this, and when she could not restrain herself any longer, she went close to him and asked him: "Why don't you eat, and what are you laughing at in such a way? It is a long time I have been observing you, smiling and laughing at something. Do tell me, what is it you laughed at?"

"Why, nothing at all," the young man replied, "I have not been laughing at anything."

But she only persisted saying: "Do tell me, and if you will not, I shall not remain with you. You have certainly something to do with some girl or other¹¹. You are thinking of that, therefore you are laughing."

"No, it is not that," the young man answered, "it is something else I am laughing at."

"Well then," she said, "tell it, so I shall give in to you; otherwise I shall never do that."

As she did not give in, he really told her and said: "I spilt some rice, and some ants came together at that, and quarrelled in such and such a way. It was hearing this that made me laugh."

"How is it," his wife asked, "that you could hear their talk? We other people, why, we do not hear what they talk."

"No," he answered, "I am not willing to tell that. Some one has said to me, 'Don't tell anybody, not your wife either, otherwise you will not be able to hear them.' That person has said so to me; therefore I tell you, I shall not let you know."

"Do tell me," his wife said, "it won't matter; I for my part shall, of course, not mention it. If you don't tell me, whom should you tell? If you don't tell it to me, I do not belong to you."

As she importuned and adjured him in this way, he finally told her. But from that day, they tell, neither did he see the bongas, nor could he hear the talk of the ants any more.

So the story is at an end.

6. A BONGA AND A SANTAL MAN¹

ONCE upon a time in the old days, they tell, a young man was herding cows. So it happened that once in the month of aghār² he had taken the cows towards the forest,

the caco chātiār ceremony being performed with them, are buried. Such become after death *bhuts*, which are supposed to be very small in size. People who die from cholera or smallpox are temporarily buried. When decomposition has set fully in — it does not take so long in an Indian climate —, the body is dug up and burnt. When a woman dies in childbirth or in pregnancy, the body is not burnt until the foetus has been removed. If such a woman remains buried, she becomes a curin, the same as the still-born child or the dead foetus. The curin is described as being very small and with a very large head. Both *bhuts* and *curins* are considered dangerous. The first ones harass and frighten people, taking on all kinds of shapes; the last ones are said to attack lonely people and suck their blood. All dead people are supposed to become bongas, except those who become *bhuts* and *curins* as described.

¹ See p. 69, note 2.

² 10 — Kr. a Etnogr. Mus. Skr. III.

dhündre dō kuriſ rama bogete bele akane n̄elket khan dō ona jojome dhurāuena. Gotefae koṭokefae, gotefae koṭokefae, ar reteč reteče jomet kana. Ar ona janum dhünd phedrege, kathae, tis jokhen coṇ hōrko topaledea. Ona dō bae hudiset kana; eken dhiriko dōho puńji akaſ mae n̄eletge; mēnhan hōr topa dō bae badeta. Adō ona dhiriko cetanrege dećkate ona kuriſ rama bele doe jomet kana. Dare or liveťeta ar goťkateye koṭokef kana.

Adō un jokhen, kathae, onako dhiri bhiti khonge boňga dō kathae rōr goťketa, Eya, Eya, men ocońme, lebetediń kanam.

Khange uni kora dō etak sen rōret lekae ańjomkette ona dhiri khon ārgoyente ona dhünd latar sēngeye oyon bařaketa, adō cele hō bae n̄el nāmlefkote arhō ona dhiri cetanrege dećkateye jomet kana. Khange uni boňga dō arhō onkageye rōr goťketa. Khange uni kora doe mēneta, Ayo, cele bae bheonayediń kan? Adō ārgokate ɔntę note ye bēngēt bařaketa. Adō cele hō bae n̄el nāmlefkoo khan, arhō ɔndęge dećkateye jojom kana. Khange arhō onkageye rōr goťketa, Eya, Eya, men ocońmem lebetediń kanam.

Adō unre uni kora doe mēnketā, Okoe ya, pe boro ocoń kan? Okor iń n̄el nāmetpea?

Adō unre boňgac mēnketā, Ma ocońme, nāhākem n̄el nāmeńa.

Adō sariye ocońken khān, boňga dō hōr lekae odokena. Adoe metae kana, en kathae, Bam n̄el nāmeń kana?

Adō unije mēnketā, Bań n̄el nāmetmea. Ma adō cēt lekateń n̄el nāmmca, ona laiańme. Khangeye metadea, Ma se ber n̄eleme, tin marań menaea.

Adoe n̄elkede dō, huđin tara siń ber menac. Adoe lajadea, bańma, Ninak ber menaea.

Adō ɔntęye bēngēt ocoñkede jokhēnge, kathae, cēt cōe halan goťketa. Adoe metae kana, Ma durupme. Adoe durup ocoñkede. Adō, kathae, cēte coṇ mēte hōtorkettaea; gantharge, kathaeye or toñkettaea. Khange kathaeye n̄el nāmkeda. Khange adoe metadea, Mēt mam saphakeftiń; adō lutur saphakatińme. Noko muć reak rōr bań ańjometa, jemón onkoak rōr iń ańjomtako.

Adō unreye metae kana, Hē, sapha mań saphaketamge, pasem lai? Judi jāhāe thenem lajeketa mēnhan dō, ale hō ohom n̄el nām darelelea, ar onko muć reak rōr hō ohom ańjom darelea.

Adō uni koraet mēnketā, Ohon laia.

Arhōe metadea, Am bahu then porjonto alom laia.

Adō mēnketā, Jōnomre hō ohogeń lailea.

³ See p. 69, note 3.

⁴ See above, note 1. When people are buried, it is generally only in a shallow grave, and stones etc. are put on the top to prevent jackals and other animals getting at the dead bodies.

⁵ The Santals divide the time according to the position of the sun and, at night, of the moon and stars, and name the time in accordance with this or with work done or food taken at the particular time.

⁶ The covering which prevents ordinary people from seeing those of the other world.

When he went to turn the cows back he saw that there was, in a thicket, a kite's talon bush³ full of ripe fruit, and commenced to eat. He plucked and popped into his mouth, plucked and popped, and crunched and ate. Now close to that thorn thicket, they tell, a man had been buried some time ago⁴. He had no thought of this; he saw, of course, that stones had been piled up; but he had no idea that it was a grave. He was standing on the top of the stone heap and was eating the fruit. He was pulling down the branches, plucking and popping into his mouth.

While he was thus occupied, it is told, the bonga suddenly called out from the midst of the stones: "I say, you there! I say, look out, take yourself off! You are trampling on me."

The young man heard it like some one speaking from some other direction, and stepping down from the stones he peered into the thicket below the branches; but as he did not catch sight of anybody, he stepped up on the stones again and commenced eating. Then the bonga called out again in the same way. "O mother", the boy said, "some one is making fun of me." He came down again and looked round in all directions; but as he was not able to see anybody, he stepped up there again and continued eating. Then the voice called out again in the same way: "I say, you there! I say, look out, take yourself off! You are trampling on me."

Now the young man said: "Who are you, you fellows, who are frightening me?"

"Please, step aside," the bonga replied, "you will see me presently."

When the boy stepped aside, the bonga really and truly came out in the form of a human being, and spoke to him. "Don't you see me?" he said.

"No," the young man said, "I am unable to see you. Please tell me, how I shall manage to see you."

"Please look at the sun," the voice replied, "how high up is the sun?"

The young man looked and saw that the sun was about half way down⁵, and said to him: "The sun is so and so high up."

While he made him look in that direction, the bonga picked up something or other and said to the boy: "Please sit down." When he had got him seated, he poked him in his eyes with something and pulled the covering film⁶ away, whereupon the young man was able to see him. "My eyes," the man said, "you have certainly cleaned; clean my ears also. I cannot hear what the ants talk; please, that I may be able to hear their talk."

"Well," he replied, "I could certainly clean them for you; but perhaps you might let somebody know. If you told anybody, you would not any longer be able to see us, and you would not be able to hear the ants' talk either."

"I shall never tell," the boy said.

Again the bonga said: "Not even your wife must you tell."

"As long as I live," the young man replied, "I shall never tell."

Ado onka ekrarkate, kathae, luture qñkeda. Ado khange, kathae, boñgako hõe ñel ñamketkoa, ar mué reak galmarao hõe añjom thikketeye bujhaukeftakogea. Ado jähäre mué gelece ñamkefa mënghan, onqõ dø durupkateye añjom mõñjko, ar mulué muluce landajoña. Ar boñgako hõe jotoye ñel ñamkogea. Dañgra jom then hõ, kathae, hõr leka onkako sen jarwaka. Khange nui kora døe ñelleko khan, hogeteye dalkoa are laga ñirkoa. Ado onkae dal bhiñkaukefko khan dø nuiko ñelle khange, kathae, qntë note pocoko dñjoña.

Khange onakate tin din badre coñ, kathae, aéren gate kora dø aði bariç ruã kahilente mit din døe baiyena, neye gujuñ lagadok kana. Ado tikan jokhen uni kora dø gaiye aderkaftkateye durup akan tahékana. Adoko lajadea, bañma, Amren gate kora døe bai akana; bañdo nähäkko bes dareae bañdo bañ.

Ado ona katha uni kora døe añjomket khan døe mënkefa, Okoe tora endekhan ín ñel aguyea. Ado onka mënkateteye calaoena.

Ado racae boløyen khangeye hoñqo sañeketa, Cele ho, menakpea se bañ? Ar aema hõr sen jarwa akante orakkore piñdakoreko durup bara akana. Ado uni gate koraren engattet dø nuiye ñelkede khan, rakate orak khone oðokenteye metadea, Dela bábu, note bolokte gate kora ñeletam.

Khange adøe boløyen khane ñelkede dø, mittan bhut koramreye durup akawadete hoñqo mocraoettæ. Khange nui kora dø ñaqdare sili baber tahékantæa. Ado onae rara goñkefte ona silitege uni bhut dø carnaoe carnaokedea se, bëbarice carnaokedea. Khange bhut døe kikiäu goñkefteye dñref kana. Ado goña orake lagakedete orak khon laga oðokkedete duar sente goñac carnao idikedete barge mucat habiice carnao goñkadea.

Khange uni gate kora døe pharnaoenteye durupena. Ado dakae khojketkote dakako emadea. Ado dakae jomket khane bes utarena. Ado un khonko baðaekeda, nui hõe ojhañgea mente.

Ado onakate tin din badre coñ, kathae, mit din dø orakre dø ac bahu eskargeye tahékana. Ado en hilok tikan jokhen uni kora dø gai aðakaftkote ac bahuuge dake tañadete daka jome ñabukente duar thenge daka jome durupena. Ado ondege dakae aguadete bahuette do piñdareye durupena. Ado uni kora dø dakae jojom kana, ar daka dø mit bar sakri hiriç akana. Ado ona jom lagit mõrë turui goñen mué dø ko jarwa akana. Ar onko mué dø ona dakako repec kana arko kaphariäu kana. Ado ona kaphariäu añjomte uni kora dø daka jom jomkateye thirok kana, ar mone mone mulué muluce landayet kana. Ar uni landayet ñelkede khan, bahuette døe mënkefa, Cef am motom landayet kana?

⁷ See p. 71, note 9. It is noteworthy that a human being is supposed to be able to chase away, not only one, but a crowd of spirits, when he can see them. It stands in absolute contrast to the very real fear which the Santals ordinarily have for the spirits. It is a common belief that disease may be caused by bongas who will 'eat', as it is called, that is, destroy human beings. What is here referred to is not the slaughtering and eating of bullocks. The expression is a figure. The 'bullock' means a human being, the 'eating' the disease supposed to be due to the inimical action of bongas.

⁸ What is here described, is a very ordinary occurrence when somebody falls ill. Friends and relatives will come and sit watching, often crowds of them.

Having made the young man promise in this way, the bonga blew into his ears, and then, they tell, he could see the bongas and the talk of the ants he also could hear and understand. When he found traces of ants somewhere, he sat down there and enjoyed listening to them, smiling and laughing. The bongas he also saw, all of them. Where bullocks are being eaten, they also, it is told, come together, just like human beings⁷. When this young man saw them, he always gave them a good beating and drove them off. As he struck them in this way and frightened them away, the bongas, they tell, ran helter skelter away in all directions, as soon as they saw him.

After some time it happened that a boy companion of his became seriously ill, and one day he was seized with convulsions and was on the point of death. The young man had that day driven his cows into the cow-shed and was sitting down, when they came and told him: "Your friend has been seized with convulsions; it is uncertain whether they will be able to get him round or not."

When the young man heard this, he said: "Then I will at once go and see how he is," and saying this he went.

When he reached the courtyard, he called out: "Hallo there, are you here or not?" Now a large crowd of people had come together⁸ and were sitting in the verandah⁹. As soon as the mother of his friend saw him, she came out of the house crying and said to him: "Come, my lad, come in here and have a look at your friend."

Having entered he saw him, and look and behold, a *bhut*¹⁰ was sitting on his breast and twisting his neck. Now the young man had a hair rope round the loins; he untied this and commenced to lash the bhut with the hair rope; he gave him an awful lashing, so that the bhut screamed and ran away. He chased him round the house and out through the door, lashing him the whole way; he lashed him, until he drove him off at the end of the field on which the house was standing¹¹.

Thereupon his friend recovered and sat up and asked for food which they gave him, and when he had taken food, he became quite well again. From that time people recognized that this young man could also do the work of an *ojha*¹².

Some time, who knows how long afterwards it was, it happened one day that his wife was alone at home. At mid-day the young man had taken the cows to the resting-place¹³; his wife poured out water for him, and after having washed his hands he sat down at the door to take food. After having brought the rice to him there his wife sat down in the verandah¹⁴. As told, the young man was eating rice, and a few rice grains had fallen down from the plate to the ground. To eat these some five or six ants had come together, and these ants were fighting and quarrelling over the rice grains. Hearing this quarrel the young man again and again stopped eating and was smiling and laughing quietly by himself. When she saw him laugh, his wife said: "What are you laughing at alone by yourself?"

⁹⁻¹⁴ See pp. 78-79.

Adoe mënkefa, Cef hō bañ.

Ado băhuttet dō ądi jid kukliye dhuräuena, kathae, Mage laiańme. Daka utu bań jut iń ematmea, sę jutge, sę cef lekam n̄elkidińa onatem landakefa, sę cef iate?

Adoe mënkefa, Daka utu hō besge, am hō besge.

Adoe mënkefa, Tōbe cefem landakefa? Ma laime.

Adoe mënkefa, Onań landakef katha dō lalai bań ganoka.

Adoe mënkefa, Ma laime barę. Okoe then hō ohoń lai baraea.

Adoe metadea, Qhoń lailema.

Khange băhuttete mënkefa, Tōbe amren hōr dōń bań kana, tōberegé bam laiań kana. Am dō eṭakkom nāmjoń kana, onage mōne mōnetem landakefa, ar onatege bam laiefa.

Adoe mënkefa, Ona dō bań kana. Am dō ąurige hona nhoam rōrefa.

Adoe mënkefa, Ente bam laiań kan khan. Ma tōbe laime, ar bam lai khan, iń dō ohoń tahglena. Apuń bareńteko orakteń calaka.

Ar seye mēn akawadea, Okoe then hō alom lai baraea. Jāhām laikefa mēnkhan ado bam n̄el nām darealea ar muć reak rōr hō ado ohoń ańjomletakoa. Ar băhuttet sę ądi jida jide kukli kana. Ado ądiye jidkef khan, kathae ye lai daporadea. Ado kathae en hilok khon dō bońga bhut hō bae n̄el nāmetko, ar muć reak katha hō bae ańjomettakoa. En hilok khon dō joto maraoentaea.

Ado kathae, ona tayom dō ądi hōr then onka ore ore laiatko, bańma, Nonka onkate nokoko dōń n̄el nāmetko tahēkana, ar noko muć reak katha dōń ańjomet tahēkana. Adoń laikef khan joto cabayena.

Ar katha hō joto cabayena, in marańgea.

7. Bońga ańgen

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mińtań buru sendra gipitić phędre mińtań mare pukhri tahēkana. Ado setak jokhen barea koja tirio oron̄ oronte ona pukhritege dak nūkin ārgolena. Khange bońga kuři dō tamba sikrite unkin koja dō jańgareye tol gočketkina. Khankin ođoken khankin n̄elketa, sutam lekan sikriteye sikri akaśkin. Adokin or topak gelak kana, bańge, kathae, topagok kan; ado dhiritekin kōtęc topaketa, ado enre hō, kathae, bań topagok kan; ado orkin orkefa sę, aemakin or jarwakefa, enre hō bań mucadok kan. Arhōkin thirokre ma hantę bhitritegeye or aderetkin kan. Khange bogetekin botorok kana.

⁹ Most Santal houses have a verandah. The walls of the house stand on a plint which extends a little outside the wall, just enough to let a man sit there on his haunches, on three sides, and somewhat more on the side where the entrance is. Here the eaves of the roof are lengthened so as to form a roof over the verandah which is here. The verandah is often fairly large and does service for a room.

¹⁰ See p. 70, note 7. — ¹¹ See p. 52, note 15. — ¹² See p. 70, note 8.

¹³ The cattle as a matter of course graze the whole year round; they are let out early in the morning and brought back in the evening at nightfall. In the middle of the day they are always taken to some place, generally near the village, where there are trees that give shadow; here they lie down to rest for a couple of hours.

"Nothing at all," he answered.

His wife then commenced to ask and kept persistently on. "Please tell me. Was the rice and curry I gave you not good; or was it good, or what did you see with me, since you laughed? What is it?"

"The rice and curry is nice," he said, "and you are nice too."

"Then what did you laugh at? Do tell," she continued.

"It would not do," he replied, "to tell what I laughed at."

"Do tell," she persisted, "I shall not tell it to anybody at all."

"I cannot tell you," he replied.

"Then I do not belong to you," his wife said, "that is why you do not tell me. You are seeking others¹⁵; that is what you laughed at by yourself, and therefore you will not tell."

"No, it is not that," he replied, "you are talking rubbish at random."

"Well," she said, "since you do not tell me. Therefore do tell me, and if you don't tell, I will certainly not stay with you. I shall go to my father and brothers."

Now the bonga had warned him: "Don't tell anybody. If you tell anybody, you will not be able to see us any more, nor will you be able to hear the talk of the ants further." On the other hand his wife persisted in asking him, and when she kept on in this way, he at last told her in disgust. From that day, they tell, neither did he see the bongas and the bhuts, nor did he hear the talk of the ants. From that day all was utterly lost to him.

Afterwards he told everything from beginning to end to a good many people. "In such and such a way," he said, "I was able to see those, and I also heard the talk of the ants. When I told others of it, it all came to an end."

And now the story is also all come to an end. It is thus much.

7. SPIRITED AWAY BY BONGAS.

ONCE upon a time in the old days it so happened that there was an old tank or pond near the place where the annual hunt spent the night!. In the early morning two young men went playing their flutes down to the pond to drink water. Down there a *bonga* girl suddenly bound the feet of those two young men with a copper chain. When they got out of the pond, they saw, look and behold, she had chained them with a chain like a thread. They pulled and tried to tear it to pieces, but it would not break. Then they tried to break it striking it with a stone; still it would not break. Then they tried to pull it out; they pulled and pulled and pulled out a heap of it; still the end would not come out. And when they stopped pulling, she was pulling the chain down into the water again, and the two boys became very much afraid.

¹⁴ The women first serve the men and eat, themselves, afterwards. It is of very seldom occurrence that a wife will sit down and take food at the same time as her husband.

¹⁵ A common expression about men who are tired of their wives and are arranging to get some one else.

¹⁶ Every year in the hot season — in the month of *baisak*, that is, from the middle of April to the middle of

Khange ado bogete kumāu kin hōhō ket khan, disom hōrko nīr calaoena; adokin laiketa, bañma, Onka nonkatē noñde doliñ heçlena, ado nōkōeye sikri akañliña. Ado noa sikri bañgeliñ topak dareak kana, sojhe bhitrigegeye or aderetliña; ar orte hō bañge mucadok kana. Ado dē, baba disom hōr, chaðaokaliñpe.

Khange disom hōr orko orketā sē, mimit khacłakko or puñjiketa, enre hō bañge mucadok kan.

Khange kamarko ağuketko. Onko hō koteç koteçteko lañgayena; bañge topagoč kan.

Ado unkin koraren apatteko dihriko sapkede, ado uni hō sunum boñgakate boñgae sapkede, are mananketa; enre hō bae añjomleta. Ado dihriye menketa, Noa dō, baba, iñ hotete oho hoelena. Nukin kora dō bae aŕakeçkina, idikingeye meneta. Ma ado apege je lekagepe budet.

Ado unkin korakin menketa, Aliñren bhayadi menakpe khan, do orakte calakpe, ayo buñhią ağuyepo. Jivetre mēt mētlıñ nępellenge; ado ghurią oho eñlliña.

Ado sari bhayadiko calaoena orakte, ar disom phad doko uñhauena, ar unkin koraren perako dō ęnlegeko taheyena. Ado buñhią hōrko ağuketkina, ar unkin sāote aema hōrko heç darayena; ado bogeteko rak baraketa, ar unkin kora dō dahe tabenko jom ocokeñkina, ar je kichu ąkinač sapap tahékana, jotoko ağukaftakina, adokin deñga pherao barayena arko cokeñkina.

Ado khange ona sikriteye or goñkeñkina, ado jemone qreñkina, temonkin calao idik kana. Ar onko dō ghuñure teñgokateko nęñel kana, qanqate, hatlakte, hoñkte, adokin unumena, nęñel atkeñkinako. Ado rak barakateko ruñr heçena.

Ado one onka dakren boñga añgen reak katha dō. Ar adom hōr dō dare doñhorre hōrko añgen boló akangea.

Ado ęneñ puräukeña katha dō.

May -- the Santals have their large tribal hunts. All males who can go hunting. A man called *dihri* (possibly a Dravidian word, as *dihri* in Malto means a priest) is the leader, superintendent, priest and president of this hunt. He fixes date and place of meeting, performs the necessary sacrifices and presides at the nightly assembly, where all matters of public interest, specially concerning the people as such, as e. g. outcasting of Santals, are discussed and settled. Here all are as good as everybody else, a servant has the same rights as an overchief. This nightly council is their High Court, the Santals say. The people start on a Wednesday morning, hunt through a forest and meet in the evening at a place fixed by the *dihri*, called *gipitic*, that is, the place where they lie down, or pass the night together. Very few people sleep though. Many attend the sitting of the high council just mentioned. Especially the young people spend the night in all kinds of jollifications, drumming, playing the flute, singing and shouting. This part of the nightly doings may be, and generally is, on a low level. These hunt councils have in former days played a very important part in the tribal life of the Santals; like a good many other matters they are not any more what they used to be. The place of the *gipitic* is always chosen near some place where water is to be had.

² When Santal individuals address an assembly sitting in council, they will frequently use the word *baba*, father, to show respect.

³ See p. 58, note 10. The *dihri* is the proper person to act at the hunt.

⁴ Vows are often made; a sacrifice or other specific performance is promised, to be given when what is asked for comes to pass.

The young men called out and made a great uproar and the whole hunt came running; they told their tale: "In such and such a way we two came here, and look, she has chained us both, and we are utterly unable to break this chain; she is pulling us straight into the water, and when we try to pull it out, there is no end to the chain. Please, honoured country-men², do deliver us."

The collected hunters thereupon pulled and pulled they each pulled a whole basket full; still there was no end to the chain.

Then they brought blacksmiths, and they hammered and beat, until they were tired; the chain would not break.

The fathers of the two boys then got hold of the hunt priest; he consulted the oil-oracle³ and caught the bonga. He made a vow⁴; still she would not listen, and the hunt priest said: "This cannot, sirs, be solved through me. She does not set these two boys free; she intends to take them away. Please, therefore, you yourselves do whatever you think."

The two boys then said: "If any brothers⁵ of ours are here, do go home and bring our mothers. We wish to meet them once more while we are alive; they will not see us any more."

Their brothers then went home, and the army of hunters also left; but the relatives of the two boys remained there. The two mothers were brought, and together with these two a large number of people came. They wept bitterly; so they gave the two boys *curds*⁶ and *taben*⁷ to eat, and whatever belonged to those two of implements and tools⁸, they brought it all; so the two boys put on fresh loin clothes, and they kissed them.

Thereupon the bonga suddenly started pulling them with the chain, and as she was pulling, they went along. Standing on the bank others were looking on; they went down to the loins, up to the armpit, to the neck, then they were submerged. They saw them disappear. Then, having cried bitterly⁹, they came back home.

Such is the story of people being spirited away by water bongas. Some people have also been spirited away and taken into hollow trees.

Now there I have finished that tale.

⁵ Cousins, second cousins, &c., are also styled brothers.

⁶ Curds, the same as *kephir*, commonly used among the Santals.

⁷ See p. 54, note 4.

⁸ It is customary at cremation to let all kinds of things accompany the dead one. These goods are put with the body on the bedstead, when it is carried away. Before fire is put to the funeral pyre, the things are all taken away and sold at a kind of auction immediately after the cremation, the money thus realized being spent to buy food or rice-beer for those who have assisted at the cremation. The goods are supposed to be of use in the other world. What is here related evidently refers to the custom mentioned, only that the two young men here take their implements with themselves directly.

⁹ The women at the time of death and afterwards occasionally start lamentations, always using a fixed kind of melody, varying the words according to need and circumstances. The men do not wail in this way, but often give way to inarticulate and bitter crying.

8. Boñga tuluć bapla akan hōr reań

Noa boñga bapla, kathae, sedae dō ądi canke tahēkana, ar boñga hōr ieka sōdorko dārā barae kan tahēkana, ar hōr tuluć hōkō galmarao kan tahēkangea. Ar nitkate dō thora etań nōk akana, onka sōdor dō bako galmarao kana. Hē, ądi sōndhe miń bar hōr tuluće. Ar noa reak kahnitę dō pō pon gołen gan doń bādaea. Ona hōr ąikā hōr laiak kathage, sari bańdo nase, onka hōkō laiecta. Acha, adō mińtań nętarkin bapla akan ar uni hōrtę hōr jivęge menaea, ona reak kathage lahate doń lai pahileča. Ona dō nonka kana.

Nia Jamkandor atorege Ramacyić mińtań kořa menaea, ar Pādum dōe hijuk sēnok kante janiće bādaegea; ar uni kořa hōr paseče nēl akadege cōn cēf cōn. Adō uni reak katha dō nonka kana. Ona Jamkandor pachim nakhare gađa sōdōk phēdre mińtań dhiri huťup menaka. Ona dō jańge dhiriko nūtum akańa; onę Pādume nām akań sokra latar munucat ḥenge menaka.

Adō kathae, ona dhiri ḥen dō kuři boñga menaea. Sedae onakore bir tahēkan jōkhēn dō, kathae, gidra kuři leka ona dhirikoreye dūruń baraea. Ar oka hiloč oka hiloč dō, kathae, hōr nēlleko khan dō thārire daka ar bātire jel utu sajaokateye ođokkak kan tahēkana. Adō jāhāge herel hōpon ḥonteko sēnlen khan dōe metakoa, Nē, pera, daka jomkatińpe, ądi jut iń daka utu akańa. Nē se ěnte, jom gelaktiń me, cēf leka bhalań isin aro akańa. Onka kathaeye metako kan tahēkana. Adō kathae, bōtōte cele hōr daka jom bako rōbena; ar uni dō onka ądi ajijkateye metakoa, enre hōr bako jomtacea.

Ar kathae, ona jōkhēn dō atore jāhāe ḥen bapla bihā kamko oramle khan, ar thāri bātitem őkulanoč khan dō, kathae, ayup jōkhēnem calaoena arem mēn očokata, Gapanoč iń ḥen perako hijuk kana; thāri bātiteń őkulanoč kana; emańme, gapań iditama. Enka rōr očokate, kathae, en hiloč dōm ruar hećena. Adō dosar hiloč, kathae, am dō bhārič khačlak ante setak jōkhēn khatirjoma calao gōdokme, adō kathae, ona dhiri cātanire gađa guđ ođok jarwa akatēm nām goda, adō cure mar khačlakrem bhoraoketa. Adō tin dinem dōhōea, ina katham rōr očokata, adōm aġuketę. Ar idikak hiloč dō, kathae, jōtoge nēl nēltem mańjaosaphakefa, jemón sakri dō oka ḥen hōr alo tāhen. Adō onka ąrik pārik gitil mańjaokate ayup jōkhēn arhō ona dhiri cātaniregem idikaftaea, arem rōr očokata, Thāri bātiń idilettama, adō nōkōe iń aġukattama; ma baetam. Adō enka mēn očokate adōko ruar hećenge. Adō kathae, onę onka sedae dōe emok kan tahēkana.

¹ The bunch of stories given under this heading are, as will be seen, not folk-tales in the ordinary meaning of the word. They have, however, been included here for several reasons. They give an excellent insight into the Santal mind and way of thinking and partly living; they show how strong a hold superstition has on them; they may possibly give an indication of how stories of the kind here told have originated, both how they may be due to superstitious misunderstandings, and how they have been adapted by the local story-tellers. The last of the three tales is so intensely realistic and at its close pathologically so correct, that one cannot avoid thinking that some real happenings are related.

It might be mentioned that the Santal who has written this down is an otherwise sensible man, a bit of a philosopher with a tendency to "preaching". The stories here related are written down, because he was especially requested to tell what he knew. Most Santals have some belief in the possibility of such happenings as those related, perhaps not quite so much in evidence now as was the case formerly.

8. TALES OF SANTALS WHO HAVE MARRIED BONGAS¹

To be married to a *bonga* was formerly, it is told, of frequent occurrence; then the bongas were also walking about openly like human beings; they were also talking with people. Now at the present time this has become somewhat seldom; they do not thus openly enter into conversation with people, well, very sparingly with one or two. I know some three or four stories about this matter; only remember, they are stories which people tell; whether they are true or not, people tell them so. Well then, there is a man who has been married (he is still living), about whom I am first going to tell. It is as follows.

In the village of Jamkandor lives a young man named Ram. Padum² constantly visits that village, so he is likely to know of it; he has perhaps also seen this young man. His story is as follows. In the neighbourhood of Jamkandor to the west near a river bed there is a rock, which they call the bar-stone. It is at the lower end of the *sokra*³ that Padum has acquired.

At that rock, they tell, there is a *bonga* girl. Formerly when there was forest in those parts, they tell, she was in the habit of sitting on those stones in the shape of a small girl. Now and then, they tell, when she saw people, she was in the habit of putting rice on a brass plate and meat-curry in a brass bowl and setting this out, and when any man came that way, she said to them: "Please, my friend, partake of my rice; I have prepared some very nice meat-curry. Do please then, just taste and feel how I have prepared food". In this way, they tell, she spoke to them; but they were afraid, and no one would eat her rice. In spite of her beseeching them in this manner they did not take her food.

It is further told that if people at that time had commenced to make the necessary preparations for a marriage in the village, and they ran short of brass plates and cups, then you might go there in the evening and say: "To-morrow guests are coming to me; I have not enough brass plates and cups; lend me some, I shall take them away to-morrow." After having said this you came away that day; the next morning you might confidently go with shoulder-stick and baskets, and you would find heaps put out on that rock, and you might fill your baskets as quickly as you liked. Then you just stated how many days you would keep the goods, and so you came away. The day you took it all back, you had to look very carefully and scour and clean them all, in order that no leavings of food⁴ should remain anywhere. Having scoured them all with sand and made them spotlessly clean you took her goods and put them back again on that rock in the evening and said, as you did so: "I took your brass plates and cups away, and here I have now brought them back again. Put your things safely away." Having spoken in this manner you came away. In this way, they tell, she was in the habit of lending formerly.

² Padum to whom is referred as a witness was for more than twenty years in the service of the present writer, up to his death some years ago. The village Jamkandor is some eight miles away from the writer's home in India. Padum's land was in this village.

³⁻⁴ See p. 84.

Ado kathae, okoe coñ miñ dhaø doe aqulef tahékan. Ado idikak jokhen bes do bako mañjao saphalefa, okakore coñ sakrige tahéyen. Ado kathae, un khon ona thari batiko do bae emok kana. Ar inaqtege bir hø tøndiyena, joto potor cabayena.

Ado kathae, nähakkate uni Ramaeyic kora do cekakote coe bulau oco akan, bañdo uniak daka utugeye jomkeetae, bañdo ceñteye bulau akan, onako do bañ kuli bara akadete bañ bañdae akana. Ar uni kora hø menaegea, calao hijuk kangeae. Dinre bar belakateye calak kana, tикиn jokhen miñ dhaø do, ar miñ dhaø do ayup jokhen.

Ar kathae, oka hilok do uni boñga kurige mñajhi hoponera chinteye hijuk kana, ado note khon missege calakko ñelkina. Ado ona dhirikokin tiokle khangem ñel adea. Ar onde seterkatem senlen khan arem menle khan, Bhala cefkin cekayeta, se cefkin galmarao kana? Delabo añjom agukina; adom senlen khan, hørtet do bam ñel namea, menkhan rør reak arantet dom añjomgea. Ado pustau bañ añjom thikoka. Arem menle khan, Bhalañ täräkkoka; oka then khone bolok kana ñelean, ado ñher hø onkako täräk gela akana; ado bañgeko ñel bolø dareaea. Ñeleako mente tикиn jokhen hø, kathae, ñher hørko täräka, arko menkaka. Joto hørteton tunkhiyea, bhala oka then khone bolok kana mente. Ado kathae, hørko tahenre hø nui kora doe calao godokgea; ado theña ar tirio do ghuñureye doho gotkatge; ado hako capo mente gaña sene árgo godoka. Ado hinä bhuk høe soga, nhia bhuk høe soga, ado enka enkategeko ñel atkedege. Ado sen sorokteko ñelea arko mena, Honda ya, neñdegebo ñelledea, ado bhala oka gótena? Adoko ñel atkede, bako ñam dareadea. Ar rør ma bhitrre gandar gundurko añjometge. Ado bar ghoñta gan amdaj ondye tahéyenge, arhøe odok heçenge. Ado nitre hø onkako ñel akadea, ado kuli tho okoe hø bako kuli akadea, ekenko ñel hape akadegea.

Ado onca ni Jamkandorre do ñelak kathako lajetfa. Kähni do bañ kana. Ar uni kora do nit hø menaegea, ar jaoge onkae calak kangea. Ado niatäk katha doñ cabakefa.

Arhø onka boñga tuluçko bapla akan hø reak kathage. Ar ñelak katha kangea, ar uni hø hø nit habiç menaegea. Uni hø do hana Pør disomre Kusbø hañ khon pachim sen buru kocare Kesaphuli ato menaka. Ona atore goñgoñteko menakkao. Ar uni goñgoñ hopon kora doñko pe boehaka, ar kuñi dokin bar hørga; joto mørø boehawako. Ado uni huñin kora do kada bitkile gupi kan tahékanre do tirio høbäriçe oronet tahékana. Ar uni kora do Sunawaea.

³ Sokra is the name given by Santals to a low area or depression in sloping ground, in which rice-fields have generally been prepared. It is too small to be called a valley.

⁴ Elsewhere these "people" are described as taking human food. It seems to be leavings that she detests.

⁵ The whole story may have its explanation here.

⁶ At certain times of the year it is not uncommon for people to catch fish and crabs in the manner described. There is very little water, and the fish etc. may be found in small cavities in the bank and are easily caught with the hands.

⁷ A characteristic trait with the Santals; they do not like to tackle a delicate matter directly, and may do as here described.

⁸ The flute is the most common musical instrument with the Santals, and there are few boys that cannot play it. The ordinary flute is made from bamboo, with seven holes, one of these for blowing. Especially young men who

Then it once happened, they tell, that somebody had borrowed from her, and when he brought them back again, they had not scoured and cleaned the things properly; here and there a few leavings of food remained. From that time, they tell, she does not give these brass plates and cups any more. By that time the forest had also been cut down; the whole country had become denuded of trees and bare.

But at the present time, they tell, the young man Ram has somehow or other — who can tell how — been seduced, whether it has happened through his eating her rice and curry, or it has been through some other means, — he has not been asked about this, so it is not known. The young man is living; he goes and comes. He goes to the place twice daily, once at noon, and again once in the evening.

They further tell that this bonga girl now and then comes in the likeness of the daughter of the village headman⁵. People see them from near the village walking together; but when they reach that rock, he disappears out of sight. And if you go right up there and say by yourself: "What are they doing?" or: "What are they talking together?" then you will not be able to see anybody; but you may hear the sound of voices, although it cannot be heard distinctly. If you say you will watch and see from where he enters, then many people have tried to lie in wait in this way; but they have been utterly unable to see him enter the rock. In order to see him, they tell, many people go to watch also at noon time, and say: "We shall, all of us, keep him in sight and find out from where he enters the rock." But even if the people remain there, the young man goes straight on, puts his stick and flute on the river bank and then goes down to the river to catch fish with his hands⁶. He puts his hand into one hole, and then into another, and in this way they lose sight of him. Then they go near to the place and look for him and say to each other: "I say, how is this? Here on this spot we saw him; what in the world became of him?" They lose sight of him and are not able to find him, while they hear someone speaking inside in low tones. The boy then remains for about two hours, whereupon he again comes out. Quite recently they have also seen him in this way; still they have not put any questions to him, they have only seen him and kept quiet⁷.

Such is what they have seen in Jamkandor, which I have here told. It is not a fairy-story. This boy lives at the present day, and he is constantly going and coming in this way. Now I have finished this story.

Here is another story of a man who has been married to a bonga girl. This is also something which has been seen, and the man concerned is also still living. This man lives in the Par country to the west of Kusba-hat up against the hills in the village of Kesaphuli. The family of my father's elder brother lives in this village. This uncle of mine has three sons; he has two daughters. They are in all five brothers and sisters. The youngest son was in the habit of constantly playing the flute⁸, while he was herding the buffaloes. The name of this young man is Suna.

Khange fielme se, miñtan ul jharnaren kuři boňga dœ bulquente uni korareye laťkaoena. Khange miš din dœ kađa bitkilkoe gasao bařakečkote tara siń ber dœ ona ul jharna ſençeye mohňda goťkaťko. Ar un joķhen dœ Baisak cando tahěkana. Khange kađa bitkil dœko lahayena, ać dœ um bařaktegeye tayomena. Ado tiriq ḥroň ḥroňte tayom tayomteye pańja idiyetko. Ar ona jharna cetan tħen dœ miš goťen maraň utar dhiri caťani menača. Ado ona caťani cetanrege uni boňga kuři dœ durup akana.

Ado uni korae ſen ſeṭeren khan dœ ūle kana, tħik tħak ačren talayiċ hilittef lekage. Adoe ūlkkede khan dœ mēnkeča, Ayo! teheń dœ ać eskar cef lagat noňdø dœ hečkateye durup akana, se bhala dadań hō menaea? Adoe bēngħet baraket dœ, celege bauňko. Khange adoe mēnkeča, Okqe tora bhala ſenkateń kuliyea ać eskargeae, se okqe tuluče heč akana, se usatgeye heč akana. Šenkateń kulilege. Ado onka mēnkate uni tħene ſen sorenteye kulikedea, Henda hili, cedač am eskar noňdø dōm durup akana? Ukurič dadań dō?

Ado uniye mēnkeča, Hē, dadam dœ bauňigħiċa; iń eskargeń heč akana.

Adoe metadea, Cedakem heč akana?

Ado uniye mēnkeča, Am tulučge miñtan galmarao menača, onateń heč akana ar iń pańja akaťmea.

Adoe metadea, Cef galmarao? Din hiloč cōn miš tħenge menačbon, ar ajuup dœ baň calakte noa bir pakar dōm sendrayediń kana? Cef lekan katha kana, ma lajme. Iń doň hudisketa, paset usatgeye heč akan cōn cef cōn. Ado onem mēnet, miñtan katha badatteń pańja akaťmea; ado ma se lai hođme, cef lekan katha kana.

Ado uniye mēnkeča, Katha dō qđi jut katha kana. Ado nāħākem khusiatiń baňdo baň, bejæe tergeń macha lekam roreča. Baňdoń lajamre ganok baňdo baň lai. Am tħen laja mēnte noa birre sendra īnamketmeteń heč akana, ado am hona eṭaġġem metań kana. Ado iħaġ katham dōħoġe khan iń roġa, ar ham dōħoġe khan dœ baň roġa.

Ado uni korae mēnkeča, Ma cef katha kana hare phare ror hođme. Idi oto kamań. Mań hečkeča, rořme, ańjomgetamań. Ar se tħik ařań hō uniač ařań lekageye ańjomkeča.

Ado unreye mēnkeča, Ia hudinič, katha dō noa kana: teheń dō am tuluč ror landae lagat mon calao akantińa. Mēnkečań, okare baň nui doň īam? Ado onate am īam īamtege noa bir pakar doň sendra aġu akaťmea.

Ado uni korae mēnkeča, Hē ma heġe, hili; paset dadańe bađaelań, bae edrealia?

Ado uniye mēnkeča, Cekate baň uni dœ bađae? Nēl tħikokak seye oroma. Cekateye bađacea? Ado amgem lai bařae khangeye bađaelańa. Iń dō jongomre hō ḡoġeń lailea.

are out herding buffaloes at night, may be heard playing the flute incessantly. They enjoy it and likely think others do the same.

⁹ The well-known mango tree, *MANGIFERA INDICA*, L., generally planted.

¹⁰ See p. 79, note 1.

¹¹ *Hili* is the wife of an elder brother; the relationship between her and the younger brothers of her husband is what is called landa saġġal, see p. 63, note 7. They are generally on very intimate terms. A kind of polyandry may be found here. If a *hili* should live with a younger brother of her husband, no one seems to say anything, provided the husband will allow it.

Now then listen, a bonga girl living in a spring at a mango⁹ tree fell in love with that young man and clung to him. It happened one day that he, after having scrubbed the buffaloes and buffalo cows, in the early afternoon drove them towards that mango spring. It was in the month of bāisāk¹⁰. The buffaloes got in front of him, he himself fell behind bathing, and, playing the flute as he went along, he followed after them in their tracks. Now, just above the spring mentioned there is a very large rock, and on that rock this bonga girl was sitting.

When the boy reached the place, he saw her, exactly like the wife of his second oldest brother. When he caught sight of her, he said: "O mother, for which purpose has she come here alone to-day and is sitting there? or perhaps my elder brother is here also?" But when he looked round, no one was to be seen. He then said: "I shall go at once and ask her whether she is alone, or with whom she has come, or perhaps she has come because she sulks. I shall go and ask her first of all." Having this in mind he went up to her and asked her: "I say, *hili*¹¹, why are you sitting here alone? Where is my brother?"

"Well," she replied, "your brother is not here; I have come alone."

"Why have you come?" he asked her.

"I have a matter to talk with you about," she replied, "therefore I have come and followed you here."

"What kind of talk?" he asked; "why, we are every day together in one place, and as I do not go anywhere in the evening, why do you hunt me up here in the jungle? What kind of matter is it? Let me hear. I thought that you had perhaps come sulking. Now you say that you have followed me on account of something; tell then at once what kind of a matter it is."

"Oh, it is a very nice matter," she replied; "the question is whether you will be pleased with what I have to say or not; you are so nagging in your way of speaking. Who knows whether it will do for me to tell you, or perhaps I should not tell. I have come and hunted you up in this forest in order to tell you, and then you are saying that other thing to me. If you will listen to me, I shall speak; if you will not, I shall not."

"Well," the young man said, "what is it? say it quickly. I shall see you back home. I agree; please speak; I shall listen to you." Now her voice was also exactly like the voice of the other girl.

"I say, small one," she replied, "it is this: to-day my mind has gone out to talk and laugh with you. I said to myself: wherever shall I be able to meet him? That is why I have hunted you up here in the jungle."

"Quite so, *hili*," the young man said; "but perhaps my brother will find us out, will he not then be angry with us?"

"How should he know?" she replied; "he will only recognize what can be seen. How should he be able to know? Well, if you will tell, then, of course, he will know. I for my part shall never tell at all."

Ado uniye mënkeṭa, Dal ocoč lagač iń laia? Iń ki bōtōr bānuktińa?

Ado uniye mënkeṭa, Qtē cōn, ḡendekhan joto kathalań gulāṇḍkeṭa. Ma tōbelań hako pakoea. Ado ḡenekin kaj baṛaketa.

Ado khange mōn dō cekayentākin cōn, miť then khon alo chapadaokge sanayetkina. Ado cētiko cōkin galmarao kan, menakkinge. Ar kāda bitkil hō inākorege palakoko jojom kan, menakkoge. Ar nukin hō khildū khamda kan menakkinge, orakte kole hōe hiřińketa; nūhum hābić menakkinge. Ado uni koṛawak mōn cekakote cōn acurrentae, disakeṭe nūhūmen. Ado metadea, Durre! bam sēnlena. Nit dō okqe tulucem calaka? Delań mittege; noko hōlań laga torakoa. Ar nāhāk dhorage teheń dō orākreko nām bārayetme kana, ar nāhāk dadań dōe dal goć utarlańa.

Ado uniye mënkeṭa, Ohqe dallāna. Uni dō miť għariteń ere godea.

Ado enka mënkat eñekin laga ağuyetkua. Ado inā kulhi muċat̄re khangeye metadea, Ią huđinić, ma am dō laga ağukom, iń dōń laħak kantalańa. Bhalań ańjomkua, cēkkoka edren kana mēnte. Mitte dō balań seṭeroča.

Ado metadea, Ma tōbē khan laħakme. Ado enka mënkaté uni dōe kol laħakedea. Ado ḡendekhne pharakena, ado okayen cōn. Ar uni koṛa dō bae baħdaletā, nui dōe boñga kuṛi kana mēnte dō.

Ado ağitęf uni boñga kuri dōe parkauena. Jaoge uni hilit chintekin nāpama, ar oka dō orāk khon hōe beret idiyea, ado ḡenrehō bañgħeye pohom dareae kana. Ado bōchōr din lekakin tahēyena.

Khange miť din dō tala nindā jokħen orāk khone beret odokkedea. Ado kathae, barge duar thengħe odokok lekae disaleṭa, ado cekae bhul goħkede cōn. Ado nēlme se, oka okate coe idi goħkedete ona ul jharna cetan dhiri caṭanire sēnkatekin duṛup akan arkin mōnjiōn kan.

Ado tin oktēre cōn, kathae, uni koṛawak disa dō acurrentaete ona ul dareko jharna soċċokko ar caṭanikoe beñġeṭ baṛawat khane mënkeṭa, Durre! noa tala nindā okareye, ağu akadīha? Nui hiliń dō thik hoř dōe bañ kana. Nui dōe oka lekan hoř kan cōn. Nonka uni koṛa dō ac mōnq moneteye hudiķeṭa.

Ado arħoġ, kathae, miť għarri khange tinre cōn orākrekin heč goħen. Ado arħoġ mit ębhien għiċċi kate ena sim doko rakket. Ar uni dōe okayen cōn, ac eskargeye għiċċi akan. Ar ona katha uni koṛa dō monre tahēyentaea. Ado setak baskeak ber khange uni koṛa dō hilitte kulikeddea. Metae kanae, Henda hili, tēheń nindā dō okatem idilidīha?

¹² The Santals generally have some food standing from last evening's meal; this is eaten cold in the forenoon. It is so common that the middle of the forenoon, about 9 a.m., is called the time of (eating) this.

¹³ The Santals will always avoid using proper names, using some name denoting relationship or the like instead. Here it is literally "the youngest", viz. son in the family. See the writer's 'Taboo and Customs connected therewith among the Santals', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, part III. 1898.

¹⁴ See p. 58, note 10.

The young man then said: "Should I tell to get a beating? I should perhaps not have any fear?"

"Well then," she said, "so we have made the matter nice and round."

After this it is difficult to tell what happened to them. They wished always to be together; they were talking something or other, and there they were. The buffaloes were also eating leaves of trees there in the vicinity, and there they stayed. And these two were flirting and dallying the whole time, and he quite forgot to send her home; they stayed in this way until after sunset. Then somehow the boy came to his senses and remembered that it was getting dark. So he said to her: "Hallo, you did not go! With whom will you now be able to go? Come let us go together, then we shall drive these along also. They are surely looking for you to-day at home; my brother will thrash us both to death."

But she replied: "He will not beat us at all. I shall put him off in a moment."

After this talk they drove the buffaloes along. When they reached the end of the village street, she said to him: "I say, small one, now you drive them along, I am going on in advance. I shall like to hear them, what they are angry for. We shall not come there together."

"Get along then," he said to her, and with this he sent her in advance. So from there she took herself off, and then who knows what became of her. But the young man did not know that she was a bonga girl.

This girl now became quite familiar with him. They constantly met, she always in the likeness of his sister-in-law. Sometimes she even awakened him and took him away from home. Still he was not able to make her out. They remained like this for about a whole year.

Then it once happened that she awakened him and took him away from home at midnight. The young man seemed to remember that he went out by the opening leading out to the field in which the house was standing; but then somehow she made him lose sight of realities. Somehow or other she took him away to the rock just above the mango spring, and they were sitting there.

Then after some time the young man came to his senses, he looked and saw the mango trees, the spring and ravines and the rocks and said: "Hallo, where has she taken me to now in the middle of the night? This *hili* of mine is not a good woman." The young man was thinking so with himself.

Then a short while afterwards, they tell, they somehow all at once reached home again, and only after he had slept and awoke again the cock crowed, and then she had disappeared. This matter remained in the young man's mind, and at the time of eating the remainders from last evening's meal¹² he asked his sister-in-law: "Look here, *hili*, where did you take me to last night?"

Ado uni hilit erae mënkefa, Okor hō, iñ dō tinreñ idilefmea? Iñ dō okate hō bāñ riāu idi akitmea. Auriakte iñ dō alom dōseña.

Ado unreye mënkefa, Okoe coñ, hili, teheñ nindai beret idilidiña hana ul jharna cetan cañanite. Sinam am lekageye nēloka, ar rōr hō am lekage, landa hō am lekage. Onate am dōñ kulikam kana, okatem idilidiña mente.

Ado tirit leka uni dōe mënkefa, Jonomre hō, huđinić, iñ dō bāñ idi akitmea ar beret hō bāñ beret akitmea. Ma hōneć sunum sakam nēl ocoeme.

Adōe mënkefa, Baña, hili, sunum sakam dō qohōn nēl ocolea. Am hō bam lajet khan, ma bogeyena. Tōbe khan okoe cōe idilidiña.

Ar hilit era dō tirit lekae metae kana, Baña, bābu, iñ dō bañgeñ idi akitmea. Dhoraе boñga kange coñ cēt coñ. Unige pasen iñ chinteye idilefme.

Ado uni koçae mënkefa, Acha nāhāk iñ biđauea. Judi teheñ nindai berediñ khan dō, bāñ calaka; ar ađiye jid khan dō, ape nāhāk iñ hōhōapea.

Adōe metadea, Ma nāhāk hōhōeme, dadam iñ lajaea, ado cirgalgeliñ tahēna. Ado inak galmarakategekin thirena.

Ado ona katha hilit era dōe lajekfa. Metae kanae, Teheñ ma bhala huđinić dō iñ chinte okoe cōko beret idiledete hana ul jharna cañanite, kathaeye idiledea. Ado teheñ setak jokhen bogeteye dhora marayediñ kana, amgem idilidiña mente. Adoñ metae kana, Henda hō, iñ dō tinreñ idilefmea? Iñ tho bāñ disayeta. Ar cēt lagat bāñ idime? Bam patiāuk kan khan, ma ente sunumko boñga bara ocoeme. Adōe mënkefa, Hē, sunum sakam dō qohōn nēl ocolea. Ente rōr hō landa hō sinam am lekage, onate iñ dō amgeñ badefmea. Ado arhōe mënkefa, Acha, tōbe khan teheñ nindā nāhāke berediñ khan dōñ hōhōea, ado goñeñpe. Ado unre iñ hōñ metae kana, Acha besge, hōhōeme. Noa katha dō dadam hōñ lajaea. Ado bana hōr jemōn cirgalliñ tahēn. Onate am hō noa katha dōñ lajam kana, jemōnlañ disay.

Ado uniye lajade khan, uni dō sanam hōr thene sōdor gołkata. Khange en hilok khon sanam hōr sōntorko tahēyena. Arko mënkefa, Haþe bon thir hataroka ar sōntorbon tahēna, sari se naseko beredede kana. Nēlkoahon sebon aňjomkoa. Ado inakkatege en hilok dōko thir barayena. Ado ayup nindā khange unkinak tak nēla mente sanam hōr cirgalge menakko.

Ado sari tala nindā khange uni boñga kuři dōe hēc gołena. Ado tinre coñ uni kora thene boło gołen. Bołok jokhen dō okoe hō bako disa bołoledea. Ado uni kora thene senenteye beretede kana, are metae kana, Delaň hantę bahre senlañ oðokoka. Ado beretente uni kora dōe duřupena, ar rōr dō cēt hō bae rōr sađeyeta. Ado onteye riāude kan khan, uni kora dō hilitte hōhōadea. Ado sari unkin hō cirgalkin tahēkante, jemone hōhōleta, temongekein goñ gołkedete beret tora divheko jereč marsal gołketa. Adoko arsal barayedede kan dōe ač eskarge. Adoko kulikedea, Henda ya, cēt lagatēm hōhōleta?

¹³⁻¹⁴ See p. 88.

¹⁵ See p. 92.

"Why," she replied, "when did I take you anywhere? I have not asked you to come anywhere with me. You are putting blame on me without any cause."

"Somebody, *hili*," he then said, "who can know who it was, awakened me to-night and took me to the rock just above that mango spring. Precisely like you she looks; her voice is also like yours; she laughs also like you. Therefore I am asking you where you took me to."

But she persisted in saying: "Not at all, small one¹³, I have not taken you anywhere, nor have I awakened you. You should consult the oil-oracle."¹⁴

"No, *hili*," he replied, "I shall certainly not consult the oil-oracle. As you do not tell either, it is all right. Then somebody else, whoever it was, took me away."

His sister-in-law persisted in saying: "No, my lad, I have not taken you anywhere. It is surely a bonga, or somebody of that kind. Perhaps she took you away in my likeness."

"Well then," the young man replied, "I shall put her to the test presently. If she awakens me to-night, I shall not go, and if she persists, I shall call out to you."

"Do call out," she said, "I shall tell your elder brother, and we two shall be on the watch." Having talked thus much together they stopped.

His sister-in-law told it to her husband and said: "Last night somebody, whoever it was, in my likeness, it seems, awakened the small one and took him, he says, to the rock at the mango spring. This morning he gave me an all-round talking-to and insisted that I had taken him away. I said to him: "Look here, at what time of the night did I take you away? I do not remember it. And why should I take you away? If you don't believe me, please let them consult the oil-oracle." Then he said: "Quite so; I shall certainly not let them consult the oil-oracle. You see, both voice and laugh were exactly like yours; therefore I conclude it is you". Then he again said: "Well then, if she awakens me to-night, I shall call out; then answer me!" So I also said to him: "All right, call out. I shall also let your brother know of this matter." So let us both be on the alert. Therefore I have told you also of this matter, in order that we may keep him in mind."

When she had told him, he at once disclosed it to everybody, and from that time all of them were alert and said: "Wait, we shall keep quiet in the meantime and be on the look-out, whether it is true or not that she awakens him. We shall see them, or hear them." Having said so much they did nothing more that day; but when night fell all of them were on the alert to see what would happen to these two.

At midnight that bonga girl really came and, goodness knows when, went in to the young man; no one was aware of her, when she entered. She went up to the young man, awakened him and said to him: "Come, let us go outside." The young man then got up and sat down; but he did not say a word. But as she proposed to him to go out, the young man called out to his sister-in-law. And as she and her husband were on the alert, as soon as he called out, they answered at once, got up and lighted a lamp¹⁵. But as they let the light fall on him, it was he alone they saw. Then they asked him: "Look here, lad, what did you call out for?"

Adoe mënkefa, Okœ eœ dhaka bërefkidiña, onateñ hohoketa.

Adoko metadea, Ukuriçé okayena?

Adoe metafkoa, Noa divhepe jered jokhengeye oka seç gofen coñ.

Ado bako ñamlede khan, divhe doko iñicatteko gitic barayena. Khange arhö uni doe hecenteye beretkede. Adoe metae kana, Teheñ dom jaikidiña.

Ado uniye mënkefa, Hë, ente am dom okœ kan coñ. Hiliñ in kulikedea, ado okore godaolena? Uni khan huteç, bae añgockea? Ado okore añgoclefa? Onateñ botorenteñ lai akaçgea. Ar ente am hë nun din andhategem idiyediñ kana. Okœ kan com? Cedañ ente bam sôdorok kana?

Ar uni kora do sanam hore beref ocokoa mente onekin galmarao jokhen do at nöktegeye roref kana. Ado ona ror añjomte apat haram do açi garteye ror saðe goñketa. Are ror goñketa, Henda ya, okœ tulué noa ñindä dom galmarao kana?

Khange ado bana hör cal culkin thir bara goñena. Arhö divhe jerefkateko nel barakede doe kora eskarge. Adoe kulikedea, Henda ya, okœ tuluém galmarao kan tahékana?

Ado uniye mënkefa, Mit hör okœ coe heçlena. Ado noa divheyem jered jokhengeye oka seç gofen coñ.

Ado onka bar dhaoteko arsalkedere hë bako ñam daçadete divhe do miñ jeretgeko doñoketa, ado ghuriq en hiloñ do bae heçlena. Khange uni boñga kuri doe usat calaoena, ado bae heç ruarlena.

Ado dosar hiloñ gupi then dosra kuri chinteye sôdoren. Ado uni kora bulau aguye lagat açi bariçe sereñet kana. Ado ona sereñ añjomte uni kora do uni kuri thene sen sorena.

Ado un jokhen ona ñindä reak katha uni kuri doe sôdorkefa. Adoe metae kana, Henda pera, nel thikeñ kanam?

Adoe mënkefa, Bañ.

Arhœ mënkefa, Inge coñ hola ñindä do am then in senlen. Ado tinre com lai hatar akafte hohoket torage jham jhum joto hörko ñir beref goñen.

Ado uni koræ mënkefa, Am hë ente jaogem andha idin kan do. Mon menaktam khan, bam sôdoroka? Cedañ hiliñ bheskate dom calak kana? Ado oné ñindäge dhiri çatanielañ senlen, ona kathage uni do bañ kulikedea? Ado bañgeye godaok kan. Khange thoñ dhakwata ar in monren mënkefa, Durre! okœ enđekhane idilidiña? Unre noa katha do sôdorena. Ar am hë ente, un din khon menaklaña, enre hë noa katha do bam bhedadiña. Ado andha hör cekateñ bañaea? Ado oneko arsal barame utarle bañaekefa, nui doe nonkan hör kana mente do.

¹⁵ The lamp is a very primitive affair, an oil-container, formerly generally of earthenware, with a thick thread as a wick. All kinds of vegetable oils were used. Petroleum lamps are a later introduction.

¹⁶ All places here referred to are in the northern part of the Santal Parganas district, where there is an English mission.

¹⁷ The boñga girl uses the name, which is against all custom with a woman and here is meant to show how angry she is.

"Somebody," he replied, "whoever it was, pushed me and got me up; therefore I called out."

"We don't see anybody," they said, "what became of her?"

"When you lighted the lamp," he replied, "she suddenly disappeared somewhere."

As they did not find her, they put out the light and went to bed. Then that bonga girl came again and got him up and said to him: "To-day you have told them about me."

"Yes," he answered, "because you are who knows who. I questioned my *hili*; but would she admit it? If it was she, would not she confess it to me? But did she? Not at all. Then I became afraid and told them. You see, you have also now so long a time been taking me away without my understanding what it is. Who are you? Why don't you show yourself?"

In order to make everybody in the house get up the young man was talking rather loudly, when they were speaking together. When his old father heard them talking, he at once called out in a very loud voice, and said: "Look here, my lad, with whom are you talking now in the night?"

Then both of them stopped talking and were silent. Again they lighted a lamp and let the light fall on the young man, and they saw it was he alone. Then the old man asked him: "Look here, my lad, who is it with whom you were talking?"

"Somebody," he replied, "came, I don't know who. When you lighted this lamp, she disappeared somewhere."

As they had searched for her with lighted lamp twice without being able to find her, they let the lamp stand there burning, and she did not come any more that night. The bonga girl went away sulking and did not return.

The next day she showed herself in the likeness of another girl, where they were herding cattle. In order to entice the young man away, the bonga girl was singing all she could, and as the young man heard that singing, he went near to the girl, and they started talking and flirting. Now the girl disclosed what had happened in the night, and said to the boy: "Look here, my friend, do you recognize me?"

"No," he replied.

"Why," she said, "it was I who went to you yesterday night. But as you some time before had told them, all of them got up with a rush, as soon as they were called out."

"Well," the boy replied, "you have all along been deceiving me. If you are so minded, will you not disclose yourself? Why do you go about in the form of my sister-in-law? You remember, when we two at night went to that rock, -- did not I ask her about that? But she would not in any way acknowledge it. Then I got nettled at this and said to myself: "O dear, who then did take me away?" Then this matter was brought to light. You see, we two have been together for so long a time; still you have never let me know. And I am ignorant of the truth; how should I know? When they were seeking for you with a lighted lamp, then only we understood that you were something like this."

Ado kathae, en hilok dō menakkinge; nindayenre hō qñdege menakkin. Ar kađa bitkil dō akotege orakteko calaoena. Ar nui kora dō uni kurige ako orakteye idikedea. Ado miñ nindä qñdege dōhō añgakate dosar hilok dō kol goñkadea. Khange uni kora dō bhagte orake heçlena. Ado hé torako kuli barakedea, okarem tahékana mënte. Adoe laiketa, bañma, Uni nindai heçlen kurigeye ñamkidiňte ac thene dōhō añgakidiňa. Néké enđe khon nitgeń hijuk kana.

Ar uni kora mōnre dō dhik caba akana, mënkhān noa katha dō okoe hō bae lajako kana. Ado dakakoe jom barakedea, ado kađa then calak lekageye saprao odok goñena. Ado kađa then hō bae señlena; ekkalte Taljhari Misonte olok ced lagate calaoena. Are mënkefa, Nun sañgiń dō janić qhöe hijuka. Ado thora thuri olok in céfle khan doñ um dapořoka.

Ar uni kora ma ontęye calaoen, ar okoe hō bae laj otoaško, in dō nōtē se ontęń calak kana mënte. Ado bae lailef karonte orakren doko aonda ñundi barae kana. Adoko mënkefa, Qhöbo ñamlea; dhora uni boñga kurigeye añgenkedetabona. Ado onkako hudiskeňte sunum sakam bogeteko néł bará ocoyeta. Ado okare hō bako khöq däreae kana.

Ado khange uni boñga kuři dō cekate coe bađacket, bañma, hanđegeye señakana mënte. Ar se uni kora dō onđe senkate moñhe pē candogeye hoe akan tahékana. Khange uni boñga kuři dōc pańja goñkadea. Adoe metae kana, Am dō in hotortegе nōnđe dom héč akana. Ado am paknjage in doñ héč akana. Ado celem calaka se bań? Ma, cefem mënfa? Rörme.

Ado uni kora dō aúrigeye añduń barayeta. Mënfae, Calao mań calaokokge. Sahebgo thö qhöe chutiliňa.

Ado uniye mënkefa, Ma ente metaeme. Chući bañkhane cekamea? Do nähák calakte metaeme.

Ado korae mënkefa, Durre! lajao para. Netargeń bhorti akana, arhō chutijń koeye khan, bae edreaňa? Baňa, nią dhaø dō sén ruaroķme, bań calak kana. Arhō pē cando gan in parhaolenge, adoñ calao utaroka, ado am thengeń tahena.

Ado kuřiye mënkefa, Tobe khan qhöm señlena?

Adoe mënkefa, Hé, nią dhaø dō bań calak kana.

Ado kuřiye mën otočata, Cef, phalna, calak bam ręben kana? Nélam nähák, am dō iňak katha bam döhoyeta, ona reak dom aňkara nähák.

Ado enka mënkatge uni kuři dōc héčena. Ado uni héčate miñ candoge hoelena, khange uni korae koñkayena. Cetko coň al mal rore qhöpkefa. Parhao hō besgelye qhöba, tayomte khan cetko coň bhacka bhacki aúrigeye parhaoa. Adoko ruhedere hō bae bataoa. Arhō oka dō onkogeye besaokoa.

¹⁶ ¹⁷ See p. 92.

¹⁸ Such madness as here described is generally thought to be due to the influence of evil spirits. The Santali word here translated "nonsensical" is often used about gibberish, inane and obscene talk, considered insane.

¹⁹ See p. 58, note 10.

That day they remained there; when night came, they still stayed on. The buffaloes went home of their own accord, and the girl took this young man with her to their house, kept him there for the whole night and then sent him away. The young man fortunately found his way home. As soon as he arrived, they questioned him where he had been. He then told them: "The girl that came at night met with me and kept me with her until dawn. Just now at this moment I am coming from there."

The young man was feeling disgusted; but he did not tell anybody of this. They took their meal, whereupon he made himself ready and went out, as if he were going to the buffaloes. He did not, however, do that; he went straight to the Taljhari Mission¹⁶ to learn to write, thinking: "The girl will not be likely to come so far, and when I have learnt to write a little, I shall be baptized."

The young man went there, and he did not, before leaving, tell anybody that he was going to this or that place. As he did not tell, his relatives were searching everywhere for him. At last they said: "We shall never find him; surely, that bonga girl has spirited our boy away." Thinking this they consulted the oil-oracle over and over again; but they were not able to find any trace of him anywhere.

The bonga girl, however, somehow or other got to know, that he had gone to that place. At the time only three months had passed since he went there. The bonga girl thereupon followed after him, found him and said to him: "It is because you are afraid of me that you have come here. So I have come to trace you. Now, what will you do, will you come along or not? What will you do? Speak."

The young man came with some trivial excuses and said: "I might be willing to go; but the Saheb will certainly not give me leave."

"Well," she replied, "tell him you will leave. What else should he do than give you free? Do go at once and speak to him."

"O dear me," the boy said, "it is a shame. It is only a short time since I have been taken on; if I now ask him for leave, will he not be angry with me? No, go back again this time; I am not going with you. Let me read three months more; then I shall go away for good and remain with you."

"You are then quite unwilling to go?" the girl asked him.

"Yes," he replied, "this time I am not going."

The girl then said, as she left: "What, you so and so¹⁷! you refuse to come? You will see presently; you will not do as I say; you will feel the result presently."

Having said this the girl came away. About a month later the boy became mad¹⁸. He commenced to talk all kinds of nonsense. He would start reading all right; then he would read on some gibberish, and when they scolded him, he would not heed. Now and then he also mimicked the teachers.

²⁰ See p. 50, note 9. After having been properly driven away she is supposed not to be able to come back

Khange Sahebe mënketə, Ma tolepe, ranbo emaea. Khange tólkedete ranko emadea. Ado inäkate khange uni koṛa dge nír baaṛe kana. Ado onka nír nírte aко oṛakteye nír hečena. Ekkalte ona ul jharnategeye nír calāka. Ado oṇḍeye sénlen khane besenge, ar oṛakre khan, cētko coṇ aḍiye harmadko. Ar jom hō bae jomā, osoč rohorenæ.

Khange eṅgat apat dō ojhakin saṛkeṭkoteko husīkdedea. Uni boṅga kuṛiko lagakedea sekō bidawadea. Khange uni koṛae besena, ado ghuriā uni kuṛi dō koṛa ṭhen bae heč dareata.

Ado eneye bes utarente arhō olokgeye calaoente oṇḍegeye tahēyenteye umena, ar oṇḍegeye baplayenteye ođokena. Kamiko emadete nit habić Purodhamni baṅglare kāmi kan menaegea. Ar nitkate dō joṭo garoṣti sudhako um cabayena.

Noa dō ūelak katha kana, kahni eman dō bañ kana. Okoe hōr tuluć boṅga kuṛiye tahēkana, uni hōr hō nit habić menaegea, ar nui Jamkandorren koṛa hō menaegea. Okoe hōrko gočena, onkanak dō kahniko metač kana. Ar onkan kahni lekan katha dō pēa ponea gan menaka. Ado mënkhān onkanak dō bañ olleṭa. Ar adom katha dō okako ṭhen dō noakin tuluć midokgea ar miš bar ṭhen dō begarokgea.

Ar noko kuṛi hopon jat dō cekate coṇ algategeko bulau godokgea, hōr kuṛi se boṅga kuṛi. Ūelme, nui dō tirio orōn̄teye lobena. Hōr kuṛi hōko lobok kangea. Ar banamte ar sereṇte, dōm eneče, nonka bin aksulač jinisteko bulauč kana. Ado ma se bujme ente, tirio orōn ar banam sereṇte dō bañ aksula. Miṭṭaṇ ona dō jut aňjomok kana, inage; ar bañkhan onate jāhān lab bānukan. Ado okoe bako buj ḥiket kuṛiko bulauč kana. Metačme onako orad dō bānuktakoa onkan hōr. Ado ene niā katha dō cabayena.

Ado koṛa boṅga reak katha. Miṭṭaṇ kamar aimai din hilok aḍiye rōt nākijok are misik kan tahēkana, ar bojawak mithi sunume ojokeť tahēkana. Khange boṅga koṛa doe bulau gočena.

Miš dinok uni kamar herel dō pera hōrko calaoena, ado ruārageye mënleṭa. Ado cēt hōrō iate coṇ bae ruārlena. Ar gidratakın doko peākgea. Ado ayup ūindayen hō bae ruārlena, ar nuiye hijuka mēnte gitic goro hōr bako aġuleško.

Ado tala ūindā khange uni boṅga herel dō kamar herel chinteye heč gotenteye hōhō sađeketa. Adoko jhićadeteboleyna. Dakako em gelawade, bae jomleṭa. Mënketae, Bi akangeań. Ado eneko jaegayente akiń dō harām buḍhi reakkin kajeta. Ado unre thora doe aṭkar oromledgegea, mënkhān unre dō cēt hō bae rōt sađeleṭa. Ente rōt landa ařānko ma sinām ač herelak lekage, onate bae phuṭleṭa. Ado miš ūindākin kaj aṅgaketa. Ado setak khangeye okayen coṇ. Ado un utare dhakwāta. Mënketae, Oħre! apattef doe bañ kana. Apate tahen khan, nit doe okaka? Bae tahēkoka?

^{19 20} See p. 94 95.

²¹ It is of seldom occurrence, but the writer has met several persons who have wanted to be baptized, because they have believed that this will save them from the power of the evil spirits. Even heathen may be heard to advise other people to turn Christians in order to be saved from witches or malicious boṅgas, when they have tried all remedies known to them without effect.

²² See commencement of this section. Here the Santal writer seems to make some reservations, as if he would not personally vouch for all he tells. He has undoubtedly a strong belief in the possibility.

^{23 25} See pp. 98 99.

Then the Saheb said: "Bind him, we shall give him medicine." So they tied him up and gave him medicine. After this had been done, the young man ran away; and running from place to place he reached his own home. There he would run straight to the mango spring, and when he reached there he was well; but when he was at home, he would do his people all kinds of mischief. He would not eat either and became lean and emaciated.

Thereupon his parents applied to some *ojhas*¹⁹ and exorcized him. They drove the bonga girl away, i. e., they gave her her dismissal²⁰. The young man then became well, and the girl could not return any more to the boy.

As he now in this way entirely recovered, he again went to learn to write, and staying there he was ultimately baptized²¹, and having married he came out of the school. They gave him work, and he is still working at the Purodhamni bungalow. Now by this time the whole family has been baptized.

This is what has been seen; it is not a story²². The man with whom the bonga girl lived, that man is still living. The young man from Jamkandor is also still alive. What is told about dead people, such tales they call folk-tales, and there are some three or four tales of that kind; but such ones I have not written here. Here and there these tales agree with what has been told in these two stories; in a few places they are different.

Now girls²³ somehow or other are so easily led astray, whether they are human girls or bonga girls. Observe, this one was led astray through flute playing. Human girls are also led astray. Through fiddle playing and song, through dancing, through anything which has no value to support people, they are led astray. Understand, flute playing and fiddling and singing does not support us. It is nice to hear, that is all; otherwise there is no profit by such things. And those girls who do not understand it properly, they are led astray. That is to say, such people as have no proper estimation of these matters. So there is an end to this tale.

Then there is something about male bongas. There was a blacksmith²⁴ woman who was in the habit of daily combing and tying up her hair and blackening her teeth; she also anointed herself with the finest scented oil. Then there was a bonga who became enamoured of her.

One day the blacksmith went on a visit to friends, intending to come back that day; but delayed by something or other he did not return. They had three children. It became evening and night, still he did not return, and as they expected him back again, they did not bring anybody to stay the night with them²⁵.

At midnight the bonga came in the likeness of the blacksmith and called out. They opened to him and he came in. They put food before him, but he did not eat. "I have had food," he said. Hereupon they went to bed. She felt a little uncertain whether he was her husband, but did not say anything, because his voice and manner was so exactly like that of her husband. As soon as it was morning, he disappeared. Then only she understood. "Oh", she said, "he is not father. If he were he, where should he now go off to? Would he not stay?"

Ado dosar hiločko n̄el h̄orkede. Dosar hiloč h̄o bae h̄ečlen. Ado mištaň buđhi h̄or gitic goroko idikedete bhitri khon rend bēndko ęsefena arko hurkar tirupena.

Ado kathae, tala n̄indä khange arhōe heč goťena are hōhō sađe goťkefa. Khange kathae, botorte joto h̄orko beretena, divheko jerečkefa, ado bako jhičae kana. Khange ađi garteye ruheč goťkefa, Ma hare phare jhič hōtańpe. Ado bako jhičet khan dō, silpińe ḫhaka rāput goťkeťteye boło goťente uni ąimaiye sap̄ goťkeda, ar mał małe togoč ąatawai kana, ar pońdge joloč lekae bęngętæ kana. Khange uni dōe keklęſetena ar sanam hōrgeko keklęſeteko haemoekaťena. Ado kargo bindar goťkedete khub lekae dalkeda, kathae, hākar hākar alańge odokentaea. Ar mōkōń tora pandeye lębeč očokadea.

Khange uni ąimai dōe kub kubu utärena ar ḫhelak ḫhelak māyāmgeye ulayefä, ar rōr dō atentacea. Baskeak ber khange kamar h̄erele h̄ečena, ado ini tulućgeye n̄epellena. Mit dhaoe bęngęt rakařadea, ado jivi calaoentacea.

Ar uni kamar h̄erel dōe kuli bařakečko khan, sanam bhędko lajade khan dō kada lekae ađrao goťkefa. Ado ęnte rakkate h̄eč cekaea? Goćen h̄or dō okarem n̄amea? Ado ęneko ođok idikedeteko ąahonkedea. Ado inąkate p̄e pon māhā khange uni kamar dō ąnde khone dărkefa.

Ar uni bońga h̄erel ma ina pande lębeč očokategeye calaoen. Ado ąne onka saj ar cōhōkočko khan dō, bońga h̄erel h̄oko lobokgea. Nią dō ańjom katha kana. ąne ado bońga ar h̄orko baplač kan reak seko lotghuči akat reak katha. Ado niare p̄e h̄orač kathań lajeketa sęń ąlketa. Adoń mucătkefa.

Ado ęne cabayena katha dō.

9. H̄or bońgako tulućko bapla akan reak katha

H̄or ar bońga disomro qher h̄orko bapla akangea, mēnhan sōđor bapla th̄o bań kana. Ato h̄or sę disom h̄or duřup teńgoač, onage sōđor sę səbik bapla dōko metak kana, sę asol bapla dō ona kangea. Ar akote ńapamkateko baplač kan, ona dō asol bapla dō bako metak kana. Ado arhō noa bońga ar h̄or bapla akan reak kathage arhōń lajyefä; metakme ona dō nonka kana.

Hana Silńgi senak Dōrbar atore bar h̄or bońga kuřikin băhuan tahěkana. Mištaň dō tirio ađiye ɔrōneč tahěkante onateye bulăuledea. Kada gasao jokhēn h̄or kuri chinte uni ńhene senlena. Unrekin ńapamente uni kora tuluće gateyena.

²³ Santals, like all orientals, have small faith in women, especially in their morality. In spite of this the Santal woman has often a very good position in Santal society, and just as often as not it is the woman who rules the household and often — indirectly — the village.

²⁴ The Santals keep a blacksmith in the village, or two or three villages may keep one together. He makes and repairs all agricultural implements used by them, sharpens axes and so on, being paid a certain amount of paddy for each plough used by the people. The Santals call these blacksmiths *kamar*; they generally speak a low kind of Hindi or Bihari, besides a little Santali. They are generally styled semi-hinduized aborigines, whatever their origin may be.

Next day they waited for the husband; that day he did not come either. So they brought an old woman to stay during the night with them, shut up the house entirely from inside and put bars to the door.

Then, they tell, at midnight the bonga came again and called out. In fear and trembling all of them got up and lighted a lamp; but they did not open to him. Then he started scolding in a loud voice: "Be quick, open to me at once!" As they did not open, he pushed the door and broke it, came in and at once took hold of the woman and gnashed his teeth at her; he was looking at her, his eyes white and like blazing. She was frightened out of her wits, so they were all of them, and became stiff like logs from fear. Thereupon he threw her down on the floor and beat her, while he was wheezing and his tongue was hanging out of his mouth²⁶. Then he kicked her in her stomach and left.

Thereupon the woman was utterly bent up and was vomiting clots of blood, and lost her speech. In the middle of the forenoon her husband came, so she met with him. She looked up at him once; then her soul left her²⁷.

When the blacksmith questioned them, and they had told him what it all meant, he bellowed like a buffalo. But what could he do crying? Where can you find a dead person? They took her body out and burnt it. Some three or four days afterwards the blacksmith went away from there for good.

The bonga went away after having kicked her. In this way, when women put on ornaments and make themselves beautiful, male bongas also are allured. This is a story I have heard. This was about bongas and human beings having married or been living together. Here I have written about three such cases. There it is ended.

There now, that is the end of the tale.

9. MORE TALES ABOUT SANTALS MARRIED WITH BONGAS

Many Santals¹ and *bongas* have married in this country; but, of course, it has not been public marriages. When the village people² or the country people attend the ceremonies, then it is called a public or real marriage; that is the genuine marriage. When people meet and marry by themselves, people do not call this a real marriage. Here I shall again tell some stories about Santals and bongas having married.

In the village of Dorbar near Silingi³ two men had taken bonga girls for their wives. One of them was in the constant habit of playing the flute, and thereby he led the bonga girl astray. While he was one day washing the buffaloes, she went up to him in the likeness of a Santal girl. After they had met that time, she became intimate with the young man.

²⁵ It is customary with Santals and others, when the males of a house leave for a short absence, to call in somebody to stay for the night, both as a kind of protection and out of consideration for the Santal Mrs. Grundy.

²⁶ What is described here, seems to point to a suspicion that the *bonga* is a kind of wild animal.

²⁷ A common Santali expression. The soul is thought at death to leave its hut, as the body is often called.

²⁸ See p. 100.

Ado mōrē turui māhā gatecate miſ din dō uni kuriye mēnkefa, Dela teheń dō ale ořakteń idimea. Ina dō ale ořakem nēl aguitalea.

Ado uni kořae mēnkefa, Kađa nāhākko adoktiňa.

Ado mēnkefa, Baňa, nāhāk miſ għaritem hé ġodoka. Kađa dō nēndge tahē ocoako; oħok okatektama.

Ado arħoġe metadea, Sen mań senkoġġe; pasę ape ořakren cefko metań. Onage thô lajaoġeň metač kana.

Ado uniye mēnkefa, Oħok metama. Do nāhāk jāħanakk metam khan, iñiñ dōkmea.

Khange ado enekin calaoena. Khange uni kuřireñ apat eñġat dō kuřiko kulikeda, Henda māi, nui dō okoyem aqur aqukedea?

Ado metatko, Jāwāe kanae.

Khange ado duruġ l-ġaġit hapraġ hapraġ bińko piti akana; ona dō, kathae, gaṇđo kantakoa. Ado onko bińge mištańko soħor gofkadea arko metadea, Ma jāwāe, ona gaṇđore duruġben.

Ado kathae, nui kořa dō botorre uni biń gaṇđore dō bae duruġplena, qtregeye duruġpena. Ado duruġkate qnté note berhaeteye bengħet barayet khan dō ġe n-elefko dō, aema utar bińko doħo akačko arko piċċi baṛa akan. Arħoġ miſ senre dō kul tħarup aema utarġo burum baṛa akan seko oħor baṛa akane nēlkefko. Khange thô bieħżeże botoroġ kana are mēnċa, Durre! cef gara eñgateń héċċena? Ado onka bogeteyc botoroġ kana. Khange dare mēnjoñ kanre ma ħor bae disayet kan, oka senteġe dàra. Are mēnċa, Dħorage noko kul tħarup tħen doko jom ocoṅġea nāhāk. Ar nui tuluć dō cef hō bako ror barayet; nui dō aċ-ekkar pharakrej duruġ akana. Ado māyāk mōyōkgeye aqķuefa. Ar uni kuři hō ořak bhitri senrege cefko cęg ceka barayet kante nui tħen dō bae sorok kana. Kořa dō moneq moneteyo mēnjoñ kana, Cekate bańi bae hijuk kan? Heċčen khan iñi mēnċea, Delań, idi oṭokańme mēnte. Ado bae sorok kante nui dō kirdhume duruġ thir akangea.

Ado sari ina miſ għarri khangeye odok gofena. Khange ado għaviċ gofada. Ado uni kuriye héċċi sorena. Ado metae kana, Cele cef lagafem hħoġań kana?

Ado metadea, Cef hō bańi; ořak n-elem aqulidiňa, ado nēl barakettapea. Ado delań, ħor uduġ gofańme, calakań. Kađa nāhākko okatek kan coñi.

Ado metadea, Hape, miſ għarri thir hataroġme; am lagaġġeñ piķtħa kana. Inań isinle khange nāhāk jom barakatelań calaka.

Ado metadea, Ma eñđekhan hako pako usara godme.

Ado sari ħare phare ini moto l-ġaġi kien isin laha gofkefa. Ado jom lagħiġ dak ī-tanadea are metadea, Ma ąbukokme; jom barakatelań calaka.

¹ It might be noted that the Santal name for a human being and for a Santal is the same.

² While the binding part of the marriage ceremony is the act of the man, i. e. the bridegroom, putting *sindur* on the forehead of the girl, no marriage is considered a real one without the public having been present. The village headman as a representative of society must be there. See p. 59, note 2, p. 67, note 7.

³ Siringli is a place in the so-called Dumka Damin, to the north east of Dumka, the headquarters of the Santal Parganas district.

⁴⁻⁵ See p. 102.

After they had been intimate for five or six days, the girl one day said: "Come along, to-day I shall take you to our home, so you can see where we live."

"My buffaloes will be lost," the young man replied.

"Oh no," she said, "in a moment you will be back here. Let the buffaloes stay here; they will certainly not go anywhere away from you."

"Well," the young man said, "I should like to go; but perhaps your people might say something to me. That I feel ashamed of."

"They will surely not say anything to you," she replied. "Do come; if they should say anything to you, I shall stand up for you."

Thereupon they went⁴. When they had arrived, the girl's parents asked her: "Look here, our girl, who is this whom you have brought along?"

"He is my husband," she answered them.

Now, to sit on they had big, big snakes coiled up⁵. These, people tell, are their stools. They pushed one of these snakes towards him, saying: "Please, son-in-law, sit down on this stool."

But the young man was afraid and did not sit down on the snake-stool; he sat down on the ground. Sitting down there he looked round in all directions and saw, look and behold, they were keeping an immense number of snakes which were coiled up. In one direction he further saw a large number of tigers and leopards lying or squatting about. At this he became very much frightened and said to himself: "Dear me, dash it, what sort of evil have I fallen into?" In this way, he was very much afraid; but when he thought of running away, he could not remember the way, so in which direction should he run? He was thinking: "Surely, they will let these tigers and leopards eat me presently." No one spoke to him a single word. He was sitting alone by himself some distance off, staring about and feeling at his wit's end. The girl was also occupied with something or other inside the house and did not come near to him. The young man was saying to himself: "How can it be that she does not come? If she would only come, I should say to her: Come, take me back again." But as she did not come near to him, he was sitting there quietly, hanging his head.

Then, after a while, the girl really came out, and he beckoned to her. She came up to him and asked him: "Well, what is it? What are you calling me for?"

"Oh, it's nothing," he replied, "you brought me here to see your home; now I have seen how you are living. Please come along, show me the way, I must go. The buffaloes will by this time be going astray."

"Wait," she said, "just be quiet a moment. I am making some cakes for you. When I get those ready and you have eaten, you and I shall go at once."

"Well then," he replied, "hurry up and be quick."

Thereupon they quickly prepared some food for him alone. The girl brought him water, saying: "Please, wash your hands; when you have had food, you and I shall go."

Adə mənkəta, Bań jometa. Dən nəndəge ağuime; idi toraeań; hanteregeń joma.

Khange kuři də bologente eñgattet noa kathae lajadea, bańma, Nəndə jom də bae reben kana; idi toraye məneta.

Adə eñgattet mənkəta, Bańa, idi lagat də judategebo emaea. Mae əbuk hijuk ma. Ina də ořak hőe nəlkatabona.

Khange kuři də arhő hę/kateye metae kana, Ma əbukokme; jomlem. Idi lagat də judagele emama. Ořak nəla menteń ağuketmea, adə təbə okor cəf lekam nəlkettalea? Ayoe məneta, Mae hijuk ma bare.

Adə onka ədiye jidkede khan də, sariye əbukenteye ayur aderkedea. Adə ona biń gañdoko beladea. Adə onare də botorte bae duruplena, ətregeye duru pena. Adə dahe taben guřko emadea, adə lohořkateye sipi jomketa.

Adə onae jojom jokhēnge kuřien eñgattet dəe galmaraoe kana. Metae kanae, Nəkde, jāwāe, ořak duar nəl hoponerań dəe ayur ağu akathena. Adə ma nəltaleben. Onate ořakte dole hořhaben kana, baňkhanben mənkea, Bhitri sən də cəf lekan coň, eken bahre khonge sarimtefkogeń nəlkettapea. Adə ma nəkde nəltaleben.

Adə sari ořakkoe hęngēt barawak kan də, bogete aseč taseč cij menaktako, ar Sahebač leka sə raj rapajko leka asbab menaktako. Adə jom barakateye ođokena. Apat haram də hukai condə ağukena, adə bana hořkin nū baraketa.

Adə kuriye mənkefa, Cele, adə delań iń idi očokama. Adə tala hařak gan taben ar pə gañda piňhāi ağuketeye metadea, Nə, ma ghētme, ar delań iń idi očokama.

Adə sari kieriére inäkoe ghētkefa. Adə əneye ağu očokadea; ar uni kuři dəe ruarena.

Adə miňtań gate kořa ona piňhā taben də emaea mente uni thene idiketa. Adə metae kana, Nə ya, piňhā tabenem jom khan dən ağu akata.

Adə onkae mənkef khan, uni dəe mənkefa, Dən yań joma. Adə rafakatekin nəlet kan də bań kan; taben də meral sakamena, ar piňhā də gōeþayena. Khan ənđegekin chitių giđikača; jom hő bakin jomleta.

Adə unire uni gatet korae mənkefa, Am də ya, bejæ phasiara hoř kanam. Meral sakam ar gōeþham jom ocoń kan də. Noa lagatem hořoń kana?

Adə uniye mənkefa, Bańa ya, piňhā taben mentegeń ghēt ağuleta, ar adəm də ənđegeń jomketa. Adə cekate coň nonkayen, ona də əhoń mənlea.

⁴ It is notable that this story has no mention of the parties passing through water to reach the other side.

⁵ See p. 54, note 3.

⁶ See p. 54, note 4, p. 55, note 5, p. 81, note 6. Molasses, in Santali called gur, is the produce of the first inspissation of the juice of the sugar cane, now generally bought in the shops, but also sometimes prepared by the Santals themselves. It is used together with taben and khujari (see below), and also otherwise, and is the common form of sugar used.

⁷ Hukā is the bubble-bubble, a water-bowl ... commonly made of the shell of the cocoa-nut, furnished with a stem, on the top of which is an earthenware cilim, the head of the pipe. Here the tobacco is put and on top of this a live coal. The smoke is "sucked" out through a hole in the cocoanut. There is, of course, a large number of varieties and elaborately constructed bubble-bubbles, e. g., with long pipes instead of the single hole for

"I shall not eat," he replied: "do bring it here; I shall take it away with me and eat it over there."

The girl went in and told her mother this, saying: "He does not wish to eat here; he wants to take it away with him."

"No," her mother replied, "that will not do; we shall give him separately to take away with him. Let him wash his hands and come. Then he can see our house at the same time."

The girl came back to him again and said to him: "Do wash your hands and take food. We shall give you something else to take away with you. I brought you here, that you might see our house. But in which way have you seen how we live? Why, you have not. Mother says: Let him come."

When she persisted in this way, he finally washed his hands, and the girl took him into the house. They put that snake stool before him; but he was afraid of sitting on it, so he sat down on the ground. Thereupon they brought him curds and taben and molasses⁶, and he mixed and ate.

While he was eating, the girl's mother was talking to him. "You see, son-in-law," she said, "my daughter has brought you here to see our house and circumstances. Now please look, how we are living. That is why we have called you into the house. Otherwise you might say: "Who knows how it is inside? It is only the roof I have seen from outside." So now look how it is with us."

He then looked at the house and everything there, it was exuberantly full of things, and they had furniture like that of a saheb or like princes. Having finished eating he came out, and the old father lighted a *huka*⁷ and brought it, whereupon they both had a smoke.

Then the girl said: "How is it? Come now and I shall take you back." She brought a winnowing fan⁸ half full of *taben* and a dozen cakes, saying: "Please, tie this up; come now, and I shall see you back."

He did so and tied it up in his clothes, whereupon the girl brought him back, while she herself returned.

The young man now took the *taben* and the cakes to a friend of his to give it to him, saying to him: "Here you, if you like to eat *taben* and cakes, I have brought some."

As he said this, the other replied: "Give it then, I will eat." When they had opened the bundle, they saw it was nothing of the kind: the *taben* had become *meral*⁹ leaves, and the cakes dried cow-dung. So then and there they threw it all away and scattered it; of course, they did not eat anything.

His friend then said: "You scamp you, you are a great rascal. You are trying to make me eat *meral* leaves and dried cow-dung. Is it this you called me for?"

"Not at all, you fellow," he replied, "I understood it was *taben* and cakes that I tied up and brought. I ate some of it there. How on earth it has been changed into this, I am unable to say."

Ado uni koæe mënkefa, Noa dø okarem ñamlefa, orak khongem ägulefa, se økoe ematmea?

Ado unreye mënkefa, Miñan kuriye idilediña, uniye em goñadiña. Onqæ ma tñik piñha taben lekageñ ñelkefa; ar jom lagit judageko emadiñte ona dø ondägeñ jom cabaketa, ar niñ dø orakte idia menteko kol goñadiña. Adogn mënkefa, orakte dø bañ idia. Am iñ ñelkefme khan doñ menkefa, Nuige noa doñ emaea. Onka mënkatet am doñ hohoatmea, ado onqæ rañakatañ ñelkef dø, bañ kan.

Ado arhœ kulikedea, Henda ya, uni dø økoe kuri kana?

Adoe metadea, Eya, økoe kuri kan eoe. Ona darha ñhen kañañ gaksao kan tahëkan jokhengeye heçlenteye bulau goñkidiña. Ado galmarao barakateye metadiña, Delañ, ale orakteñ idimea, orakko ñel äguitaleme. Ar cef bañ se, uni dø aði moñj kuri kanae. Ñeltege iñ hoñ moñgon utarena. Mënkefañ, Nui kuri doñ hataoegea. Onka mënkatet bulau calaolena, ar orak duarkoñ ñelkeftakoa, jom ñuketan. Ar cef bañ se ya, sen tora dø barié iñ botorena; ente biñko piñi akana aema utar, ar sanam lekan biñ menakkao; ar durup lagit dø onkogeko soñor goñadiña. Ado botorte iñ dø onkore bañ duruplena, otregeñ durupena. Ar miñ senre doñ ñelkeftakoa, bogete hajar lekan kul tñrupko burum bara akan. Ado onko ñelte artegeñ botorena, ado dñr iñ mënlefa. Mënkhán cekan bhulen coñ, horgé bañ disayet kan. Ar se nui kuri døe piñtä kante orak khonge bae oðokoñ kan. Ado aði enae oðoklena, ado gavíadeteñ metadea, Delañ, idi goñkañme. Ado dakkø tañadiñteñ abuk boløyen khan, biñge durup lagitko beladiña. Ado botorte onare dø bañ duruplena. Otregeñ durupente dahe tabenko piñtakoko emadiña. Arko metañ kana, Ma jåwæ, nökøe orak duarko ñelkataleben. Ado unreñ ñelkefa, cef bañ se, raj rapajkoak hø onkan asbab dø bñuñtakoa, hankañ ñelkefa. Ar jom barakate hukakoñ ñu baraketa. Ado hijuk jokhén noakoko ghët oceokediña, ar kuriye mënkefa, Delañ, atra dhur iñ idi goñkama. Unre noa doñ ägu dara akata.

Ado uniye mënkefa, Tøþe ya, Hor kuri døe bañ kana, uni døe boñga kuri kana. Hor dø kul tñrup se biñko dø bacobon åsul akañko. Onateñ mënfa, uni døe boñga kuri kangea. Cekate bako jomlefmea?

Adoe mënkefa, Hë ya, hë ya, cekate coñ bako jomliðiñ, bañkhan doñ mucakoka.

Ado uni høe mënkefa, Hë ya, sarige uni døe boñga kuri kangea, Hor døe bañ kana.

Ado onqæ onka, kathae, onko boñgawak taben khajari se piñha dø note ägule khan dø pheraok kangetakoa. Ado unre uni koæe ägulefte noa katha dø disomre Hor hoponko

drawing the smoke, metal parts and so on. What is mentioned here, is the form commonly used. When in use, the hukø is frequently passed from one to another, if the smokers can use the same hukø, each smoker drawing the 'smoke a few times. It should be mentioned that the hukø is not an original Santal implement. They have got it from the Hindus, and it is not at all common. The Santals chew tobacco leaves mixed with lime.

⁸ The winnowing fan is of oblong shape, the front being straight and flat, the other sides having a raised rim, which is highest at the back. It is used for several purposes, for cleaning the grain and so on, but is also used as a loose kind of measure. It is made from bamboo and is of a fairly constant size.

⁹ See p. 54 5, notes 4 and 5.

¹⁰ See above, note 1.

¹¹ See p. 106.

"Where did you get this?" the other boy asked, "did you bring it with you from home, or did somebody give it to you?"

The young man replied: "A girl took me along with her; she gave it to me. There it looked to me exactly like taben and cakes. They gave me separately to eat there and I finished that while I was there, and this they gave me to take along with me. But I thought I would not take it home, and when I saw you, I said to myself, I shall give this to him. That was my reason for calling out to you. And when we opened it, we both saw it was not what we thought."

"Look here, you scamp," the other one again asked, "which girl is she?"

"You fellow," he answered, "who knows who she is? While I was scrubbing the buffaloes at that water-pool, she came and duped me. We had been talking together, when she said to me: "Come along, I shall take you to our house. Come and see how we are living." Well, what can one do? She is an extremely beautiful girl. Looking at her I lost my senses utterly. I said to myself: "This girl I shall make mine." Having this in my mind I went along entirely lost. I saw their home and circumstances. I took food and drink with them. Well, what would you think, you fellow? When I reached there, I became awfully frightened. Snakes were lying there coiled up in large numbers, and there were all kinds of snakes, and these they pushed towards me to sit on. Out of fear I did not sit down on these, I sat down on the ground. And on one side I saw, look and behold, thousands of tigers and leopards were lying about. Seeing these I became still more frightened and thought of running away. But somehow or other I was at fault, I could not remember the way we came. Besides, the girl was occupied making cakes and did not come out of the house. When she at long last came out, I beckoned to her and said: "Come along, take me back." Then they gave me water, and having washed my hands I went into the house, and they pushed a snake towards me to sit on. Out of fear I did not sit down on that. When I had sat down on the ground, they gave me curds, taben and cakes and said to me: "Well, son-in-law, here you are, have a look at our house and our circumstances." Then I looked round, you have no idea, kings and princes have not household goods like those. So it looked to me. Having had my food, I had a smoke from a huka. When I came away, they made me tie these things up in my cloth, and the girl said to me: "Come along, I shall see you half way off." Then I brought this along with me."

His friend then said: "Well then, she cannot be a human woman¹⁰, she must be a bonga girl. It is a wonder they did not eat you."

"Yes, yes," he replied, "it certainly is a wonder they did not eat me; then it would have been the end of me."

"Yes, surely," the other one agreed, "she is certainly a bonga girl; she is not a human girl."

In such a way, people tell, if you bring the *taben*, *khajari*¹¹, or the cakes of the bongas here, these things are changed. Since this young man brought this stuff, the story has

then pasnao akana, ar noa katha dō sanam hōrko bađaegea, baňma, piňha taben dō nonka bōdloč kantakoa.

Ado ene inkın kora dō ęndę khonge apan ąpin oraktekin heć barayena. Ar uni kora dō ąuriko băhuae hăbić uni boňga kuři sōnge dōe tahēkana. Ar koratekoak orakte hōe hijuk kan tahēkangea, mĕnkhan sōdor dō bae sōdorlena, ar daka utu hō bae jomleftakoa. Ar cef baň se, nui kuriye băhuen khan dō, bębarićko kisărena, ar gai kađa, mĕrom bhiđi ąđiko bađhaoentakoa, ar orakko hō khub lađuentakoa, se khub sērā sērā orakko benao idiketa, ado orak duărko hō khub hamram bakhōl 'aikquentakoa. Ado uni korako băhuade khan, boňga kuři dōe bagiketa. Ado ene nia katha dō cabayena.

Ado ini dosra kora reak katha nete doň lajet kana, uni cefkoe eeka akađa, onako reak katha.

Ado nui hō kađa gupi korageye tahēkana, ado gupi tulućge ąđiye banameť tahēkana. Khange Asar cando jokhen miň din dō bareg mucat baiħarre ayuň ńuhum jokhen kađae tekao akađko tahēkana. Ado ńuhumen khan, kađa hō ąđiko atiň kana. Ado cendeneřre duřupkate nui kora dōe banamjoň kana are sereňeta.

Khange miňen boňga kuři dō tinre coň hećkate ato kuři chinte uni korawak dea sećre dō hećkateye teňgo akana; ar un hăbić uni kora dō bae disayede tahēkana.

Khangeye terdečkef khan dō, uni kuriak umul dō kora samaň senge sēn akantaea. Ado cekate coň ona umule ńel thikket, hōrak umul leka ńelok kan. Khangeye beňget acur goňkete khan dō, phalna kuři lekae ńel goňkede. Khangeye kulikedea, okoe kanam mente.

Ado mĕnketa, Inge.

Ado ařaňe aňjom ńhikkede khane metadea, Tinre coň noňde hećkatem teňgo akan? Disa hō baň disa hećleſmea, ar am hō cef hō bam ror sađeyeta.

Ado uni kuriye mĕnketa, Baknamgem sardi akađte cef hō baň metam kana. In hō onageň, aňjomjoň kana.

Ado korae mĕnketa, Cef lagatem heć akana?

Ado kuriye mĕnketa, Amge banamtem bulau ągukidiňa. Ađi jutem banamette bam bulaukidiňa?

Ado korae mĕnketa, Ma tōbe khan duřupme.

Ado eneye duřupen khan dō, uni sene gesrok sorente jaňgae sapkedetekin ńhikketa. Ado mokon barakate cef galmarao cočin ęhōpket, onategekin lobdhaoena, baknam dōe hiriňketa. Ado pohrek pohrek sanaye pichekin kajet kana. Khange bana hōrak jivi dō tol cabayentakina, ado alo chapađao lekakin ąkqueta.

¹¹ Khajari is the Santali name for parched rice, very often used as food, when there is no time or opportunity for cooking. It is the same as is at the present day called Japanese rice in Norway. Khajari is mostly prepared by some Hindu castes, but some Santal women also know how to make it. See above, note 6.

¹² The idea seems to be that, if a bonga would partake of human food, she would lose "caste", so to say, and would be shown up.

¹³⁻¹⁴ See p. 108.

been spread among the Santals in this country, and it is known to everybody, their cakes and taben are changed as told.

Those two boys now went from there to their respective homes. But the young man about whom this tale is told continued to live with that bonga girl until he was married. And the girl also was in the habit of coming to the house of the young man's parents; but she did not show herself, nor did she eat their rice and curry¹². It is a wonder, when this girl was married, they became awfully rich, their cattle and buffaloes, their sheep and goats increased manifold; their houses also became very large, i. e., they built big, big houses, one after the other, and so their buildings and houses were felt to be like palaces, nothing wanting. When they got a wife for this young man, the bonga girl left.

Now, there this story is at an end.

Now I am going to tell the story of the other young man, the story of what he did.

This young man was also a buffalo-herd, and while herding he was in the habit of playing his fiddle¹³. One day in the month of asar¹⁴ it so happened, that he was watching, in the evening after sunset, the buffaloes grazing near some low-lying paddy-fields at the end of the field on which the house was standing. As it became twilight, the buffaloes were eagerly grazing, and the young man was sitting on a bare spot above them, fiddling and singing.

While he was doing this, a bonga girl had come in the likeness of a village girl and was standing behind the back of the young man, and for some time he was not aware of her being there. But when the moon rose, the shadow of the girl was cast on the ground in front of the boy, and then somehow or other he saw the shape of the shadow, it was like the shadow of a human being. When he quickly looked backwards, he saw someone looking like such and such a girl and asked her, who she was.

"It is I," she replied.

As he recognized her voice, he said to her: "Since when have you come and been standing here? I was not aware of you, and you do not say a word either."

"You were so eager playing the fiddle," the girl replied; "therefore I did not speak to you. I also was listening to that."

"Why have you come?" the young man asked.

The girl replied: "You yourself have enticed me here by your fiddling. You see, you are playing so beautifully, you brought me here by that."

"Come and sit down then," the young man said.

When she had done so, the young man little by little slid over to her and caught hold of her and had his way with her. They started talking this and that and became entirely lost in each other, so that the young man quite forgot to play his fiddle. Both of them became so attached to each other that they felt it as if they could not part from one another any more.

Ado ɖher həbié hoeyen khan, korae mənkəfa, Ma teheń dolań inąk həbićkaǵgea. Malań apan əpinoka. Ȑher nı̄cayena, kadań idikoa. Ar am hō pasęć orakreko ńam barayefme, okayenae mente.

Ado kuřiye mənkəfa, Ma təbelan apan əpinoka, mənkhan ąika gapa hana ȑhenlań ńapama.

Ado korae mənkəfa, Tin ber jokhen?

Kuřiye mənkəfa, Tikin ȑhik jokhen.

Korae mənkəfa, Acha besge, calakme; ąika alom ęreńa.

Kuřiye mənkəfa, Acha, ohoń ęreńea. Ado enkə cepet barakate ęnekin apan əpinena.

Ado dosar hilok tikin jokhen hōkin ńapamena, ajuń hōkin ńapamena. Ado onka din hilok bar belakatekin ńapamena. Khange ądi barićkin copao sətena. Ar uni kora dō bae bađae kana, nui dōe bońga kuři kana mente ȑ; aé dō Hor kuriçeye bade kana. Khange onka Ȑher din miluăkin tahēyena; oka dō gupi ȑhen hō dakae idiae. Ado ąditefkin mel cabayena.

Khange uni dō miňan jharna sođokren kuřiye tahēkana. Ar ona jharnare dō akař baha ądi barić tahēkana. Miň din dō tikin jokhənkin ńapamentekin kaj baraketa. Ado uni kuřiye mənkəfa, Delań, hana jharna reak akař baha siń gofańme, sunumreń bojaoa.

Ado onka mənkatekin calaoena. Ado ona sisif jokhēnge cekae andha gołkede coň, tinre coe aňgen gołkedetekin bolę calaoen. Ado onte hō nonka kułharge, nonkage bogete hōr basti akane ńeleťko. Ado đahar đahartekin calaoente onko kuřiač orakteye ęyur idikedea. Ado onkage biń gaňdoko beladea, ado bōtorte uni hō onare dō bae duруplena. Ado uni kuřiko kulikedea, Henda māi, nui dōe ękoe kana?

Ado metaťko, Nui dōe jāwāc kana.

Ado jaňga dak ągukete jaňgako ąbukkedea, ar uni jom lagatko tana bhanakefa. Pahil dō joł panko emadea, inąkate dō daka utu. Ado ęndege ądi dinko dōhökeda, turui cando leka.

Ar miňan erveltef korae tahēkana. Ado uniko metadea, Am dō nui teńam soňgere tahenme, nui jemón aloe eskaroč. Ado sari uniye tahēyena. Ar onko kul taruń doko seta kantakoa; onkoko uni kora doko tiąk bařa ocoyea. Ar dinge jel tulue dakako emaea, ar uni kora dōe jom dorokkoka, cef hō bae ror bařaea ar bae kuli bařakoa, noa dō cele jel kana mente. Ar uni kora hō ęndegeye hewayente hijuk hō bae mēn bařaea.

¹³ The Ȑiddle is a one-stringed instrument, much beloved by the people. Santals may sit for hours fiddling, enjoying the sound. It is, however, rather strange that a boy should take such an instrument along whilst herding cattle. They generally carry a flute.

¹⁴ Asař is the first month of the rainy season in the north-eastern parts of India, from the middle of June to the middle of July.

¹⁵ A plant found in moist places, *Limnophila Roxburghiana*, G. Don.

¹⁶ The people are constantly using oil to rub themselves in with. They prepare oil from a fairly large number of seeds. Women are, of course, making a more extensive use of oil, especially for their hair, than are the men. The perfuming here hinted at is done by soaking the stuff in the oil.

¹⁷ The same license which is allowed between a man and his elder brother's wife also exists, although not quite to such an extent, between a man and the younger sisters of his wife, provided they are unmarried. In a similar way the relationship between a man and his wife's younger brothers is of the kind called *landa sęgęi*; their relations are of the greatest freedom and intimacy.

When they had been together until very late, the young man said: "To-day we must let it be with this. We must separate now. It is far into the night, I must take the buffaloes home. Perhaps they are also looking for you at home and wondering where you have gone to."

"Well then," the girl replied, "we must go each our way; but be sure, we must meet over there at that place to-morrow."

"At what time?" he asked.

"At noon exactly," she replied.

"All right," the young man said; "now go. Be sure you don't deceive me."

"Very well," the girl replied, "I shall not deceive you." After having arranged with one another in this way, they went each their way.

The next day they met at noon and also in the evening, and they continued to meet thus twice daily. In this way they became entirely devoted to one another. But the young man did not know that the girl was a bonga girl; he was taking her to be a human girl¹⁵. They remained living together in this manner for a long time; sometimes she would also bring him food where he was out herding. They became utterly attached to each other.

Now this girl was really living in a small stream with a spring, and in this stream there was an abundance of *akar*¹⁵ flowers. One day they met as usual at noon. Then the girl said: "Come along, help me to pluck some akar flowers in that spring; I want to perfume my oil¹⁶ with it."

Having agreed to this they went. But when he was plucking these flowers, somehow or other she cast a spell on him; some time when he was not aware of it, she spirited him off with her, and they entered the spring. There on that side it was also dry land like here, in the same way there were lots of village houses and people which he saw. They went along a road, and the girl led him along to her own home. There they put a snake before him as a stool to sit on; out of fear he did not sit down on it. Then they asked the girl: "I say, my girl, who is this one?"

"He is my husband," she answered them.

Then they brought water and washed his feet and set to work to prepare something for him to eat. First they gave him some light things, and thereupon rice and curry. They kept him there for a long time, something like six months.

There was a younger brother¹⁷ of his wife. They told him: "You remain with your brother-in-law, in order that he may not feel lonesome." And so he did. Now tigers and leopards are the dogs of those people, and they made the young man lead these about. Every day they gave him meat-curry with his rice, and he ate; it was food, he did not say anything and did not ask them what kind of meat it was. The young man became accustomed to staying there and did not think of coming back here.

Ado khange tahente miñ din do erveltet korae ménketa, Delan ho sendra. Ado sendrakin calaoena. Ado birre jähäegekin ñamko, herel se ñimai, ado uni erveltet kora doe capat bindar goñkotakina, ar uni kul doñin liliuñ goñaea, adoe ger goñ goñkua, ado ene-kin ñaguñkoga. Ado ñaguñkoko teke jomkua.

Ado tin din hoekate çon, kathae, onkage miñ din do sendragekin sen akana, ar nui do kule tiak oco akadea. Ado birre senkatekin ñelkede do, miñtan hor do bir aere hurufe kuñtam kana. Ar uni erveltet kora doe ménketa, Ma ho teheñ do amge seta do liliuñ-aetalañme, hani hanđe marake atin kana.

Ar uni doe ménketa, Ukurié ho?

Ado uni huruf kuñtam horgeye uduñ thikadea, adoe metadea, Ma goñ ñaguyem. In doñ dak seçanrege.

Khange, kathae, nui do ađi garteye ror sađe goñket khan, uni hor doe cirgal goñena. Ona takre uni kul doe arak goñkadea. Ado kathae, jemonge uni kule don goñlefa, temonge uni hor do tañgateye kuñtam daramlede. Ado miñ kuñtamregeye sat goñkadea. Ar uni goñ tora hor doe dañ tapketa.

Ado teñattef bae ruar kanteye pañjakede khane ñelkede, kul doe goñ ocoyen. Adoe metadea, Durhak, seta doñ goñ ocokede do!

Ado uniye ménketa, Nui seta do ente marak tuluege bae darelen khan in cekaea? Marak ñhengeye tobak goñ ocoyena.

Adoe metadea, Bam capat ñokaea? Ar uni doe ménketa, Bañ capatadea. Ado ondege uni kul doñin bagiadea.

Ar ořakre heckate apat haram do lelha melha bogeteye ruhetkeda. Menketae, Nonkan seta nahakgeben goñ ocokeda. Ma nui jawañ do nitge idikaepa.

Ado unre uni doe agu oñokadea. Ado enre hõ miluñ do bakin bagilefa. Arhõ oka oka do bar pe candoe añgen idiyega. Ar nitkate uni hor doe janok kana.

Ado ene cabayena.

10. Hor ar toyo reak katha

Sedae joñken, kathae, miñtan hor hñiñate ñañgra kiriñe ñenlena. Ado jor sudhage kiriñkine ménlefa. Ađi khone dor dam þaryefkoga, ado damrege bañ pañaoñ kante bae kiriñ dareakin kana. Metakme unak dam ma banuktae, ñaka bañ kulauñ kan. Ado enre hõe

¹⁸ One of the several veiled expressions for going to pay a call of nature.

¹⁹ Jan, a word of Sanskrit origin, means something like "the knowing one". It is used exclusively about the witch-finders. The Santals believe that formerly there were honest jans who got their revelations directly from the other world. Now they generally agree that they are rank humbug; still they consult them. Now-a-days they are caught and punished by the authorities. They are undoubtedly unmitigated scoundrels, responsible for much injustice and unhappiness.

^{10 1-3} See p. 112-114.

While he was staying there, his wife's younger brother one day said: "Come along to hunt." So they went hunting. Whoever they met in the forest, man or woman, the younger brother of his wife would knock them over by throwing something at them, whereupon they would set the tiger on, and he would bite them to death. Thereupon they would take them home and cook and eat them.

Some day afterwards, people tell, they had in this way gone out hunting, and the young man had been told to take the tiger along. When they reached the forest, they saw a man; he was grubbing roots on the edge of the forest. Then his brother-in-law said to him: "Now, to-day you must set our dog on; look over there, a peacock is feeding."

"Where?" the young man replied, "I don't see any."

The other one then pointed out to him the man who was grubbing roots and said: "Now kill and bring him. I must go at once towards water¹⁸."

As the young man spoke out very loudly, the man became attentive, just when he let the tiger loose. The moment the tiger sprang at him, the same moment the man met him with a stroke of the axe. With one stroke he finished him, and as soon as he had killed him, the man ran away.

As his brother-in-law did not come back, the bonga man went after him and saw that the tiger had been killed. "Dear me," he said, "you have let the dog be killed."

"Why," he replied, "this dog was unable to cope with the peacock, then what can I do? He was pecked to death by the peacock."

The other one said: "Should you not have helped him by throwing something?"

"I did not throw anything to help him," he replied. So they left the tiger there.

When they came back home, the old bonga man scolded him all round, called him a fool and so on. "Such a dog," he said, "you two have caused to be killed for nothing. Do, take this son-in-law away now this instant."

So she brought him back to this side and left him here. Still they did not leave off their intimacy. Now and then she would also spirit him away for two or three months at a time. And now this man is acting as a *jan*¹⁹ or witch-finder.

So there this is ended.

10. THE STORY OF A SANTAL AND A JACKAL¹,

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, a man had gone to a market place² to buy bullocks. He intended to buy a pair³ at once. From early in the day he had been bargaining about bullocks; but as they could not reach an agreement as to the price, he was unable to buy a pair. That is to say, he had not enough for the price asked, his money was not

mēnjoñ kāna, Pasef iñ nāmkaſkinge. Adō ona bhorsate tāngi nām tārāk nām aŋdur māndure tahēyena.

Adō belae nēle kan dōe koceyen, kubelayen khangeye mēnkēta, Barea dō qhōn darelea. Acha, hēc akan sik miſtañ gan tanak iñ kiriñ torakaegēa. Arhō jāhā hilok iñ hijuķa, na hōneč unreñ kiriñ idiyēa.

Adō kathae, belae jhōl pholaok kan jokhēn miſtañ dañgrae kiriñkēda. Ar sē orāk hō sāngiñ nōkretaege. Khange aguye aguyetege dhēre nūhum nindayena. Khangeye hūdis barakēta, en kathae, Teheñ dō qhōn tiok darelea orāk dō, ar noa nindā dañgra salak calač dō bañ tħika, kombroko mēmēna. Jāhāge jāhā daporen, teheñ dō noterege jāhāe orākreñ gitié aŋgalenge. Gapa setač dōh sotok idiyēa. Onka ač mōnre buj bařawante miſten atoe nāmkeṭa. Adō ona ato sene, aċurena. Ar sēye ač eskargea, sōngetenko dō bānukkotaea. Adō atoteye rakaþente gitié tħāiye kuli bařayetko. Adō ač eskar ma gitié tħāiko ařakae kange, dañgra salakge thō bako ařakēta. Adō onka kuli kuliteye sēn idik kana.

Adō khange miſten tili orāke nāmkeṭa. Adō raca sente bologenteye kuliketko, Henda baba ho, noakore gitié tħāikope ařakke?

Adō onkoko mēnkēta, Tin hoqape?

Adōe mēnkēta, Iñ eskargeañ ar miſtañ dañgra menaetiña. Teheñge noa hātiä khon iñ kiriñ aguyede kana.

Adōko kulikēda, Okaren kanam?

Adōe laiaſtko, bañma, Iñ dō Sohodoho Jħariżen kanañ. Adōñ nindayente teheñ dō noakore gitié aŋgač iñ mēnjoñ kana.

Adōko metadea, Besge, dela nōtē hijuķme, dañgra hō aġu darayetam. Ar nōkđe noa orākre ghāni bifi akača, ona ghāni khuñtire dañgra dō tolkaetam, ar am dō noa piñdare gitiéme, noqde tħāile ařakam kana.

Adō sari uni dañgra dō ghāni khuñtireye tolkadetaea, ar ač dō ona piñdare rakaþente ɔnđeye duruđena. Adō onko tili dō tinre eġn budi barakette celañre karē dōko lħoħkata. Adō kedokko jom barakate dōko jaega bařayena. Adō tinre nui kora dō khube japiķēta, unre onko tili dō ona lħoħočtaka karēte nuiye kiriñ aġu akade dañgra dō goṭako lasrao thopramkēda. Arko nonkaye kan, ona sud uni kora dō bae bađaejoñ kana.

Adō setaken khan, tili dō akoren ghāni dañgra hako pakoko rara aġu goħkēda. Adō onkoren dañgra dō karē jom pärkau sē bañ? Adō onako thopram akad karē baste nui

¹ In the Santall folk-tales the jackal — *Canis aureus* — plays the role in other countries generally attributed to the fox. The Indian fox is very seldom mentioned. The jackal is generally described as astute, sagacious and sharp, sometimes, but by no means always, living by his wits. He often represents the sound common-sense and justice, like in this story.

² A good deal of the everyday business of the people is transacted at market-places, found fairly well spread over the country. Here people bring what they may wish to sell, and here they buy the common necessities, which they do not buy in the shops. Many shopkeepers have their own stalls at these places, the sellers mostly

sufficient. Still he was thinking by himself: "Perhaps I might find a pair." So in this hope he remained there kicking his heels and waiting, loafing about.

Then he looked up at the sun, the sun was far down, and as the time was getting late, he said to himself: "I shall not be able to buy a pair. All right, since I have come here, I must try and buy one anyhow and take it with me. Afterwards some day I may come here again, then I may buy another one."

Then just after sunset, while the rays of the sun were bright over the horizon, he bought a bullock. Now it should be noted that his home was rather far off, and as he was taking the bullock along, it became dusk and he was benighted. Then he thought and thought and said to himself: "I shall certainly not be able to reach home to-day, and to go along with a bullock now at night is not good; people may call you a thief. Be that as it may, to-day I shall pass the night in somebody or other's house hereabouts⁴. To-morrow morning I shall take him along." Having come to this conclusion in his own mind he found a village and turned aside there. Now you know, he was alone, companions he had none. Having gone up to the village he asked people there for a place to lie down in. But while they were willing to let him have a place to lie in, they would not let him have a place for the bullock also. So he went along, asking and asking for a place.

At last he reached a house belonging to a *tili*⁵, and entering their court-yard he asked them: "I say, good people, might you be willing to let us have a place to lie down in here somewhere?"

"How many are you?" they asked.

"Only myself," he replied, "and I have a bullock, that I have bought to-day at the market and am bringing along with me."

"Where do you belong to?" they asked him.

"I," he told them, "I am from Sohodoho Jharia. As I have been benighted, I intend to stay the night somewhere here until morning."

"All right," they said, "come this way, take your bullock also along with you. Look, here in this house we have fixed the oil-press⁶; tie your bullock to the oil-press pole, and you lie down in the verandah here; we are letting you have a place here."

He then tied his bullock to the oil-press pole, and he himself stepped up to the verandah and sat down there. Now those *tilis* had in the meantime concocted a plan and steeped some oilcake in a cooking-pot⁷. They had their evening meal and lay down to sleep; but when the young man was fast asleep, those *tilis* took the oilcake they had steeped in water and daubed the bullock that this man had brought with him all over with it. Of course, the young man was ignorant of their doing this.

When it became morning, the *tilis* quickly loosed their oil-press bullock and brought him. Now, you know, their bullock was accustomed to eat oilcake, and at the smell of the

dañgra dō curmare jal ocoök kana. Ona n̄elte onko tili dō ađi barić gulko ehopkefa. M̄enet-ako, bañma, Aleren ghani dañgra dōe busakentalea. Ado ina odok duarkoren h̄or h̄ohq aqukefkoteko udukaťko, Ma ho, n̄eletalepe, teheň dō aleren ghani dañgrae busakentaleteye jal cikarede kana. Etač h̄orren dañgra khan, nonka dō qhoe jallea.

Ado uni kiriń aqü akade h̄or uni dañgrae laga idiyede khan, bañgeko idi ocoae kana. Ado onko jarwa akan atoren h̄ore bicar ocoyefko khan, onko h̄oko metae kana, Holare nui dañgra cedak bam udukaťlea? Onate amren dō okorle s̄abud oco dareae kana? Ado onka lekate onko ato h̄or h̄oko bhagaokeda.

Adoe metaťko, Acha besge, bape idi ocoań kan khan, cet iń m̄enkrea? Hape tōbe, nia ade paseren h̄or aqukateń bicar gela ocokoa. Ado judi onko h̄o nonka ape lekageko bicarketa m̄enkhan, tōbe nui dañgra dō tilirenḡeye hoyoka.

Adoko metadea, Acha besge, do aqukom.

Ado enka m̄enkate ađi khond rondjoń tuluce calak kana. Ado anaři h̄or se baň? Ado aqurige begor horte bir birteye calak kana. Ado un jokhenge, kathae, mitten hapuk dōe udau tot goťena. Ado uni h̄ore m̄en goťkefa, Ohre! dataramiń n̄amlede tahēkana, dār goťkefæ.

Ado uni hapuke m̄en goťkefa, Cedakem n̄am barayediniń kana?

Ado uni h̄ore m̄enketa, Miťan bicar ocomea mente am thengeń heć akana.

Ado hapuke m̄enketa, Cet bicar?

Ado or phed jotge lajadea. Khange uni hapuk dōe m̄en goťkefa, Ho, noa bicar dō algagea. Do arhō mit h̄or n̄amkom, jemón ińko ror gorooań.

Ado uni h̄ore m̄enketa, Acha besge, n̄am aqukoń; m̄enkhan n̄endē bare tahē hataroķme.

Ado uniye m̄enketa, Acha, tōbe khan nonkatege nāhāk hijukme.

sitting or squatting on the ground under small roofs which give shadow and protection against rain, or under some large tree or the like. There are a few market-places where cattle are bought and sold regularly. The markets are held on fixed days, once or twice weekly, and are visited by lots of people, who do not only come to buy or sell, but also just to meet other people, see friends and so on. They are an indispensable part of the everyday life of the villagers. Here many social matters are taken in hand. Hero things are made known, proclamations and announcements are made with beating of drums.

³ It might be noted, that the Santals and all their neighbours use bullocks or buffaloes for ploughing and carting, and never one, always a pair at the time.

⁴ Except in the large bazars, inns or what corresponds to inns are not met with. It is a very common custom to let strangers sleep somewhere round the house, but not inside. Care is shown that caste is not broken and that the women are not disturbed. As a rule people will try to find somebody of their own caste or race to pass the night with.

⁵ The oil presser is called *tili* by the Santals, from *tel*; this caste is of Hindu origin. Oil is pressed out of a large number of different kinds of seed.

⁶ The oil-press used by the ordinary country *tili* is a contrivance fixed in the ground, of wood, with a large bowl at the top. The seed is steamed before being put in the bowl, and the oil is pressed out by a piece of wood being moved round along the inside of the bowl. The piece of wood is fastened to a pole, to which the bullock is yoked. The work is done by the bullock walking round and round, the *tili* often sitting on the pole. The Santals also press oil of seeds. They have two kinds of presses, one a more primitive one, consisting of a large

oilcake which they had smeared on the 'other bullock he started licking this incessantly. When they saw this, these tilis commenced to make a tremendous uproar, calling out: "Our oil-press bullock has given birth to a bullock." Thereupon they called their nearest neighbours and showed it to them: "Look, look, our oil-press bullock has given birth to a bullock to-day; he is now licking it smooth. If it were another's bullock, he would never lick him in this way."

When the man who had bought and brought the bullock tried to drive him away with him, they would not let him do so, and when he asked the village people that had come together to judge between them, they also said to him: "Why did you not show this bullock to us yesterday? As you did not, how can we prove that he is yours?" In this way these village people also went against him.

"Very well," he said to them, "if you will not let me take him away, what can I say? Wait then, I shall bring some people from the neighbourhood and get them to judge. If they also should judge as you have done, then this bullock shall belong to the tili."

"All right," they said, "do bring them."

With this purpose he went off thinking and speculating. Now you remember, he was a stranger. So he went along at random through the forest without following any way. Then a night-jar⁸ all at once flew out. "What a pity," the man said, "I met a councillor, but he disappeared."

The night-jar then spoke: "Why are you looking for me?"

"I have come to you," the man said, "to ask you to judge in a certain case."

"What case?" the night-jar asked.

The man then told everything from the very beginning. "Oh," the night-jar said, "that is an easy case. Please get hold of another one, some one or other, that he may assist me."

"All right," the man answered, "I shall fetch some one; but please, you remain here in the meantime."

"Very well," the bird replied, "so just come this way."

stone, into which a ring and channel are cut to let the oil flow out. This stone is put at the foot of a large tree, in which a hole is cut. In this hole a large pole is put, and the pressing is done by people sitting on the pole. The other, more common press consists of two heavy pieces of wood placed one above the other on two poles, in such a way that the lower piece is fairly fixed, while the upper one is easily moved up and down on the poles, which run through holes made in the two pieces of wood, one near each end. The steamed oil-seed is put on the lower piece in a cover made for the occasion of some kind of straw, whereupon the upper piece is pressed down with the help of a rope wound round the two big pieces of wood. The lower piece has a ring cut with a small channel for the oil to run out through. The bundle with the steamed seed is placed just above this cut out ring.

⁷ A small earthenware pot with a wide opening, generally used for cooking most other things of food than rice.

⁸ The *Caprimulgus Monticulus*, a fairly common bird in the Santal country. The Santal name is onomatopoeic, from the call of the bird.

Ado uni hør ɔndə khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte mittan toyoe ñam gótkedea. Adoe mén gótketa, Hape ho, tengolenme.

Khange toyoe tengoyena, adoe metae kana, Cedakem hohoañ kana?

Adoe metadea, Amgeñ ñam barayetmea miñten bicar ocome lagat.

Ado uniye menketa, Cet lekan bicar?

Ado joto or phede lajadea. Ado toyoe menketa, Ho, noa bicar do algagea, menkhan mit hør soñgeanme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Ho, am soñgeam lagat, do mit hør in ñam akadea. Delan uni thengeñ idilemge.

Ado bana hore jarwakefkinte etohop khon mucat habic joto katha ar cef leka phorphundikate uni horren ñangrako atok akadea, onako mit mitte sanam kathae lai cabawañkina. Khange unkin do bana hør domkin em gótketa. Men gótketakin, Delabon idiliñme. Khangeye agukefkina. Ado barge latarko tiokket khan, ondə dothora patañ potor muñdugea. Ado toyoe menketa, Do nondege hoho agukom. Atore do seta ądiko gegeera, onte do oholiñ señlena.

Ado uni hore menketa, Acha, nondegeñ hoho agukoa. Ado señente sariye hoho agukefko. Ado bako ñel ñameñkinteko meneta, Okorkotam põc? Auñigem aguyetbona se ceta?

Ado un jokhen unkin dokin odok gótena. Adoe mén gótketa, Nukintiñ iñren põc do. Ado dhiri gañdoe bel bara gótfakina. Adoko durup jarwayente cefko coñ emanteakko galmarao kana. Un jokhen toyo doe kuðbur akana ar hapuk doe japiñ akaña. Khange onko atoren mõrë hør do ądi garteko ror gótketa, Okorkotam ho? Cet lekan põc? Unkin makin japiñjoñ kan! Nukin ki kin bicarkea? Ohokin dñej dareleia.

Ado un jokhenge, kathae, bana hore ądi gartekin benget rakap gótketa. Khange toyoe ror gótketa, Cet cef cefkope galmaraokeña?

Ado noko hórkó mén gótketa, Aben do eñgate japiñjoñben arben cef cedok kana.

Ado toyoe mén gótketa, E ho, cef coñ bañ, jutgeñ kukmú gótketa. Ona do nonka leka kana, bañma, mittan darhare señgel lagaoena ar onare ądi utar hakoko lo gó akana, ado onkoge in do curemar in jojom kan. Nonkañ kukmüketa. Ado bhala noa do cef lekan kukmú kana, ar noa reak bhed do cef hoekoka? Dese bhala ape mõrë hør laiañtabonpe.

Adoko mén gótketa, Kukmú reak thikana hanukan. Oka do auñi hõ kukmükgea. Arhõ oka doko mén gótketa, Dakre ki señgel lagaokoña? Noa do ohoge hoe darelena. Dakte ma señgelge iñjok kan, cekate loka? Noa do kokhonoge oho hoelen.

Ado toyoe ar hapuk bana hórkín mén gótketa, Acha besge. Adoliñ kuliyetpea, nui pera hórák do cefpe bicarkeña? Laiáliñ kanae, bañma, Hañ khon ñangrañ kiriñ agu akadea, ado ñindayente noa atoren phalna tili oqakreñ gitic kana. Ado setaken khan, ñangra do bako

The man then went on his way. As he was walking along he met a jackal and called out to him: "Wait, please, stay a moment."

The jackal stood still and said, "Why are you calling out to me?"

"I am searching for you," the man replied, "to ask you to judge in a case."

"What kind of a case?" the jackal asked.

Then he told him everything from the very beginning, and the jackal said: "Oh, that is an easy matter; but you must get some one to be with me."

"Oh, I have got one to be with you," the man said, "come along, and I shall take you to him at once."

Having got both of them in one place he told them everything from beginning to end, all of it, what he had done, and how those people by means of tricks had kept his bullock back. Then both of them cheered him up. "Come along," they said, "take us there." The man took them with him. When they reached a little below the field on which the houses were standing — there was some scrubby jungle here —, the jackal said: "Do call them here. In the village the dogs bite; we shall certainly not go there."

"Very well," the man replied, "I shall go and call them here." So he went, called the people and brought them; but as they did not see anybody, they said: "Why, where are your arbitrators? Have you brought us here to make fun of us, or how?"

At that moment those two came out, and the man said: "These two are my arbitrators," whereupon he put stones before those two to sit on. When they had all sat down together, they were talking on different subjects, this, that and the other. During this the jackal was sitting with his head bent down, and the night-jar was asleep. The village councillors then called out loudly: "Why, where are your ones? What kind of arbitrators! These two, well, they are sleeping. These two! what! should these judge? They will never be able to manage it."

At that moment both of them suddenly looked up with a start. "What, what, what?" the jackal called out, "what are you talking?"

Then those people said: "You two sleep on, then you will become what-what-what."

"I say, sirs," the jackal spoke, "whatever it was, I had a wonderful dream; it was this way: a waterpool had caught fire, and an immense number of fish had been burnt to death in that pool, and I was eating those as fast as I could. This is what I was dreaming. I wonder what kind of a dream this is, and what its meaning might be. Please, you high village council, tell me and all of us, what the meaning is."

"There is no certainty about dreams," they replied; "sometimes dreams also are utter nonsense." Again others of them said: "Have you ever heard that water catches fire? It is impossible that such things should happen. Fire is, of course, quenched by water; how should water burn? Such a thing could never happen at all."

Then the jackal and the night-jar said, both of them at the same time: "Very well. Then we ask you: what have you judged in this our friend's case? He tells us: I had

idi ocoán kana. Mènetako, Nui dò aleren ghani ðaṅgrageye busák akadea. Amren dò bale nél akadea. Adò ape atoren hø̄r noa reák cefpe bicárkettabona? Ona lāiańpe. Ar bujpe, nui dò eṭak disomren hø̄r kanae. Miṭṭen kaj bastete nöndęye hečlena, ar nuiren eṅga apa dò nöndę banukkotaea. Onate nökkęe aliń bir janware rak akawaślińa. Ar bujhaupe, hø̄gel hopon hüyäte oka bam dařana? Kaj hoelen khan, gāo gondabo dařangea. Pasęc unre amak hø̄ nonka hoyoktam. Tøbę cefem cekaea? Adò masę lāipe, cef lekape bicárketa? Daṅgra dō okoepe digriae kana?

Adò sanam hø̄rko mén gočketa, Tiliren ghani ðaṅgrae busák akadete unigeye námea.

Adò toyoe ménketa, Besge. Adò ghani ðaṅgrae busák akade, onage sanam hø̄rpe patiú akana sę bań?

Adò ađi garte sanam hø̄rko mén gočketa, Patiú akangeale.

Adò toyoe ménketa, Besge. Ar noa ińiń ménlet, bańma, darha dakre sęngel lagao akante hakoko lę gočena. Adò noape patiúk kana sę bań?

Adóko ménketa, Bale patiúk kana, ente dakre sęngel dō oho lagao darelena.

Khange uni hapuk dōe ruhet gočketa, Lelha mara hø̄! ape leka lelha dō duniaře hø̄ banukkhoa. Kókhonq ki ðaṅgra busagočpe nél akawana? Gáiko busagoča, ðaṅgra dō tisre hø̄ baňgeko busagoča. Mase ente udukańpe oka hørtéko busagoč kana. Acha besge, delabon uni ðaṅgrage udukańpe, bańma, noa hørtéye busák akadea. Noa dō ąuriakte nui häuṇdikate rejope mén akata.

Adò bana hø̄te bogetekin ruhetkefkoa. Arkin metako kana, Dini nitge ðaṅgra nöndę agu gočkaetaepe, ar bańkhan oka hø̄te uni ðaṅgrae busák akadea, onage udukalinińpe.

Khange cap cup sanam hø̄rko thir utarena, miť katha hø̄ bako rø̄r dareata. Khange nokokin rø̄r lajaoketko khan dō, ato hø̄te uni tilige ruhetko ruhetkedeasę, andha dhundko ruhetkedeasę. Adò ona báisi ṭhenge ðaṅgrako águkadetaea, ar uni tili dō mörę taka hø̄ko phurąkeda. Adò ęne onkate nui hø̄rak dōkin bicárketaea, bańkhanko aflede tahékana. Adò ęne nią katha hø̄ń sesketa.

⁹ Lit. the five. A Santal village has five officials. It may possibly be due to this fact that the village council is called "the five". It is, however, more likely that the Santals have taken the thing itself as the name over from the Hindus. All ordinary village and social questions are taken before the five. The village panchayat has now-a-days very little power left, a fact which probably now everybody more or less deplores. Every one who is interested is allowed to sit in the village council; women are allowed to be present as witnesses, complainants or defendants, and may also sometimes be heard to give vent to their opinions. A person who introduces a case is permitted to bring along any outsider who may be deemed capable of looking after his interests.

¹⁰ Men only are supposed to have anything to do in the ordinary way outside their villages. Women are not thought fit to travel round on business in the country.

¹¹ The village council has no power or opportunity to inflict other punishment than what they can effectuate on the spot. Among the Santals the party found at fault generally has to give compensation, and further to pay

bought and brought a bullock from the market. Then, as I was benighted, I passed the night in such and such a tili's house. When it became morning, they would not let me take the bullock away. They said: This one our oil-press bullock has given birth to. We have not seen your bullock. Then how did you village people judge in this our case? Tell me that. And please understand, this man is from another part of the country. He came here to do some business; his parents are not here. Therefore he has appealed to us two forest animals, as you see. Understand, being men¹⁰ will you not now and then go travelling? When business calls, we go round to villages and hamlets. In such circumstances perhaps the same might happen to you also; then what would you do? So please tell how you passed judgement. To whom did you decree the bullock?"

Then all of them spoke out: "The tili's bullock has given birth to this one, so he will have it."

"Very well," the jackal said. "The oil-press bullock has given birth to this — you all of you believe this?"

Then all of them said in a loud voice: "That is our belief."

"Very well," the jackal again said; "now I said, water in a water pool had caught fire and the fishes were burnt to death. Do you believe this or not?"

"We do not believe it," they answered, "because water will never catch fire."

Then the night-jar started scolding: "You imbecile fools. Fools like you are not to be found anywhere in the whole inhabited world. Have you ever at any time seen a bullock give birth to anything? Cows do that, but bullocks never at all. Otherwise please show me which way they give birth to anything? Very well then, come along, show me this bullock and how he has given birth to this other bullock. It is all false, and you have intended to defraud and rob this man."

Thereupon both of them gave all of them a good scolding, and said: "Come with him, bring the bullock here now this instant; otherwise show us, which way this bullock has given birth to another."

Then they all became dumbfounded and silent; they were unable to utter a single word. When these two had made the village people ashamed by their speaking, they in their turn started scolding the tili, they scolded him something awful. Thereupon they had that bullock brought to the council; they also fined the tili five rupees¹¹. In this way they judged the case of this man; otherwise they would have let him lose everything.

So now there, I have finished this story also.

a fine, which may be as little as five sikhs, i. e., five four-anna pieces, or 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee, about 1 sh. 8d., or the double of this. It is seldom more. Both parties have to give a sum to the council, generally five or ten sikhs, to be spent on food or drink. Here it is a fine of five rupees, or 6 sh. 8d.



